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Prague International Meeting Views SFRY Future

LD0903173791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1419 GMT 9 Mar 91

[Text] Prague, March 9 (TANJUG)—The representatives of the ruling parties of the Yugoslav Republics of Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia, currently participating in an international conference on federalism and regionalism in Prague, have agreed that, despite the existing major differences in Yugoslavia, it is possible to reach a solution for life together by democratic means.

On its first day of work, after it opened on Friday, the conference dealt with the problem of Yugoslavia in the light of its federation—confederation dilemna. The meeting is organized by the Institute for International Relations of the German Hans Seidel Foundation.

"Future Yugoslavia within its present borders can only be built as an alliance on free independent states," said Slovenian Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel. He said that "insisting on the preservation of Yugoslavia's present structure will inevitably lead to a dictatorship."

Zvonimir Lerotic, counsellor to the Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, also said that the concept of federalism was unacceptable because, in his view, it "leads to hegemony" of one nation.

It is possible both to call for a separation from Yugoslavia and advocate a federation by democratic means, said Lerotic. It is possible to "reach an acceptable solution for life together by democratic means and without using force," he said.

The president of the Foreign Policy Committee to the Serbian Parliament, Deputy Aleksandar Prlja said that Serbia did not want to impose any recepies to anyone in Yugoslavia and that he believed that "all republics can, in their own interest, reach a consesus on several key issues concerning life together."

Prlja believes that common interest in the area of foreign affairs, defence, financial and monetary system, and single market could be a linking factor among the six republics of post-war Yugoslavia.

Prlja also warned that the historic circumstances were forcing the Yugoslav republics to seek a joint solution, moreover because they are multi-national.

Black Sea Countries Discuss Economic Cooperation

AU1203140191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1304 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 12/3/1991—An expert meeting of Romania, Bulgaria, Turkey and the USSR opened on March 12 in Bucharest. It is meant to draft a document to include the principles, domains and institutional format for the establishment of future cooperation among the above-mentioned countries as part of a "Black Sea zone of economic collaboration." The delegations are headed by directors of the respective countries' foreign ministries.

All Remaining Political Prisoners To Be Released

AU1303200391 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Our ATA correspondent has learned from the Ministries of Internal Affairs and Justice that the appropriate measures have been taken for the implementation of Decree No. 7,471 of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, dated 12 March 1991, for the pardon of the final political prisoners. As laid down in the decree, the aforementioned prisoners, together with certain persons sentenced for other criminal offenses, will return to their families on 17 March 1991.

PPSh, PRSh Election Campaigns Reported

AU1303184891 Tirana ATA in English 1306 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 13 (ATA)—The Committee of the Party of Labour (PLA) [Albanian Workers Party—PPSh] in the district of Shkoder organized an activists' meeting on March 12 to discuss on the electoral program of the PLA in the social and economic field.

The secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the PLA, Prof. Dr. Abdyl Backa, analysed the objective internal and external factors which were taken into consideration in the elaboration of the electoral program of this party. He concentrated especially in the reflections of and the lessons the Party of Labour has drawn in all its activity in the political, economic and social fields.

He said that the electoral program of the Party of Labour is worked out according to the present and perspective fundamental interests of our people. It will be applied together with the people to their benefit, in the interest of freedom, independence, national unity.

The first conference of the Republican Party [PRSh] branch of Fier District was held in Fier city. Members of the Initiating Commission of this party stressed among others that the Republican Party is for open dialogue with the people and political parties, against any kind of violence, placing above everything the lofty interests of country's independence and sovereignty.

The chairman of the Initiating Commission of the Republican Party, Sabri Godo, after speaking of the activity and some of the objectives of this party, stressed among others that we want to enter Europe as a free, proud people on equal footing. For this we must go to the free 31 March elections in tranquility. Speaking of the actual situation, he said that all should set down to work, should back up the Presidential Council and President Ramiz Alia.

Threat Against PPSh Badge Wearer Deplored

AU1203202491 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 3 Mar 91 p 3

[Sami Milloshi article: "I Gave My Word"]

[Text] Two young men on a bus buttonholed a veteran who wore the badge of an award he had earned as a member of the Albanian Workers Party [PPSh] on his jacket. They threatened him, telling him to remove it, but he put his thumb over the badge, as if to protect it as something holy, and did not remove it. He merely said, "I gave my word [besa] once and for all!"

I gave my word! This is my word! On my word! An honest Albanian has never allowed any double-dealing with his word of honor. The people have called those who behave in such a way breakers of their word, double-crossers. That is why the veteran refused to remove his badge. After all, why should he remove it? He had earned it with his labor and sweat as a loyal member of the PPSh.

He was minding his own business. He was not threatening anyone. Those two young men had crosses hung around their necks, but it had never occurred to the veteran to threaten them and demand that they remove them, although he was sorry to see them "decorate" their necks in such a way. They were their own necks, and they had the right to "decorate" them as they wished, because they had heads of their own on their shoulders. Perhaps, in their own minds, they had given their "word" to these crosses. That was their business.

Why then did they threaten the veteran? Simply because of his badge? Of course not. They threatened him to make him break his word, to double-cross his PPSh. They threatened him because they wanted to eliminate him as a communist from the road of democracy on which we have embarked. Is this normal? In whose interests is it for democracy to be the "preserve" of certain people, while others are excluded from participating in it? Ismail Kadare was right when he said in his interview with ZERI I RINISE: "To exclude communists from the process of democratization means to consciously hinder this process, and to consciously add to the numbers of the enemies of democracy."

So, you lads who threatened that veteran communist, I now have a question for you: Does our democracy need more enemies? If you think carefully, perhaps you will repent and will beg that veteran's pardon.... What a good thing that would be, if you are genuinely in favor of democracy.

Newspaper Protests Statements by Greek Priest

AU1403143091 Tirana ATA in English 1042 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 14 (ATA)—The recent events in our country have been reflected also in the press of foreign countries and especially in that of the neighbouring ones, the newspaper "REPUBLIKA" writes today. Hence, Greece's stand towards our country is clear. In his recent visit to Albania, the Prime Minister Mitsotakis stressed that the Greek Government has no territorial claims towards Albania. The newspaper "I KATHIMERINI" of February 22, 1991, cites the Greek

president saying that "Our country, which is situated in one of the most critical regions of the world, should face this crisis with realism and lucidity."

But, "REPUBLIKA" stresses, the attention is attracted by a hoarse voice of some Northern Ipirote, that of the priest Sebastianos, the metropolitan of Konitsa, who thinks differently. It is 25 years now that he cries out: "We will continue the war." He seeks "to activize thousands of Vorioipirotes who fled" by equipping them with rifles instead of crosses and to attack "in order to liberate Vorioipiros."

The priest Sebastianos is seeking blood, "REPUBLIKA" underscores. Such a thing makes one meditate: Is he indeed a priest, the more so a metropolitan? Mr. Sebastianos does not mind the fact that the Greek people and the Albanian one are bound by a whole history, common interests. They have always helped each other. Both peoples have valuable qualities: The political parties might quarrel within their countries, but when the problem is to defend the homeland, the independence, freedom, they are united like a fist and face the aggression with self-denial. The history of the two peoples is full of such examples.

Mr. Sebastianos forgets all of them, because he is guided not by realism and clarity, but by the frenzied passion of a chauvinist. His warmongering cries, "REPUBLIKA" concludes, are so anachronistic, so frequently condemned by history, as, at the end of this century, they seem ridiculous.

PDSh's Berisha, Pashko Leave for United States

AU1303190391 Tirana ATA in English 0956 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] The Newspaper RiLINDJA [DEMOKRATIKE] reports that at the invitation of the State Department and the Albanian National Council, the chairman of the Steering Commission of the Democratic Party [PDSh], Dr. Sali Berisha, and the member of this Commission, Dr. Gramoz Pashko left on a visit to the U.S.A.. The same newspaper writes on the regular press conference organised by the Democratic Party in Tirana on problems of the Albanian refugees in Italy and the election campaign.

Foreign Ministry Comments

AU1403142991 Tirana ATA in English 1033 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 14 (ATA)—The newspaper "RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE" of March 13, 1991 carried a report, according to which the chairman of the Steering Commission of the Democratic Party, Dr. Sali Berisha, and the member of this Commission, Gramoz Pashko, left for the U.S.A. at the invitation of the State Department. Asked about this, the spokesman of the Foreign Ministry said that according to the data it possesses, the State Department has not presented such an invitation to them.

The Department of Emigration at the Foreign Affairs Ministry demands from the families whose children have left without informing them to present in this Department the necessary information so that, conform international rules, it makes contact with the Italian authorities.

Our party has already raised the problem of the departure of the Albanian citizens under 16 to Italy to the Italian authorities and is making continuous contacts with them for the solution of this problem.

Foreign Trade Minister Visits Austria, Germany

AU1303200291 Tirana ATA in English 1843 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 13 (ATA)—The minister of foreign trade and cooperation, Shane Korbeci, attended the working meeting organized in Vienna on March 11-12 by the Economic Commission for Europe at the UNO [United Nations Organization] center in Geneva. The participants in this meeting exchanged views on the economic policy of the Latin American countries and the Central and East European ones. The representatives of the parties attending this meeting narrated their experience as for the macroeconomic policy and foreign debts, the international economic and financial cooperation, trade policy and its liberalization, privatization and social problems related with it, etc.

After the visit to Austria, Comrade Shane Korbeci will pay a visit to Germany at the invitation of the minister of economy and transport of the Land of Bavaria, to attend the ceremony of opening the trade office of Albania in Munich.

Over his stay in Germany, the minister of foreign trade and cooperation, Shane Korbeci, envisages to have separate meetings with the Parliamentary Secretary of State Riedl, the minister of economy and transports of Bavaria, the president of the Chamber of Trade of Upper Bavaria and Munich, etc.

Zhelev Sends Bush Congratulatory Gulf Message

AU1303123691 Sofia BTA in English 1218 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 13 (BTA)—The Bulgarian President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev has cabled congratulations to U.S. President George Bush. Following is the text of the telegram:

"Dear Mr. President:

"I would like to share with you the delight of the people of Bulgaria and my own delight at the victory of the Allied Forces in the Gulf and to congratulate you on your strong will in the defense of justice, freedom and solidarity in this war. The successful end of the Gulf crisis demonstrated once again the power of democracy and confirmed once again the role of the international democratic community for security in the modern world.

"I would like to assure you that Bulgaria will stand by the UN Security Council resolutions and will contribute to the maintenance of peace and the guarantees for the inviolability of borders in the area. I would like to believe that in international life there will be no more room for a policy of aggression and violence, for disrespect of national sovereignty and for the violation of any country's territorial integrity."

Students Support Colleagues in Belgrade

AU1303201191 Sofia BTA in English 1950 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 13 (BTA)—"As students and citizens we protest against the use of military force to break up the demonstrations in Belgrade," it is said in a declaration of the Executive Bureau of the Independent Students' Societies received at the BTA. "We congratulate our Yugoslav colleagues for their implacability and we are overjoyed that the students are again in the front line of the struggle for democracy," the Bulgarian students write.

Leadership Condemns Army Deployment

AU1203190691 Sofia BTA in English 1813 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 12 (BTA)—According to the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) the attempts of the Yugoslav Army to become a factor determining the development of the political processes in Yugoslavia would not create a peaceful and constructive atmosphere in that country. Mr. Lyubomir Kyuchukov, deputy chairman of the BSP Supreme Council, stated at a news conference held here today that the developments in Yugoslavia are alien to the ideas of his party of a peaceful transition in the conditions of parliamentary democracy.

The BSP has frequently stated that it is against using force in the settlement of political conflicts—both internal and international, Mr. Kyuchukov underlined. The conflicts should be settled through a peaceful dialogue, without resorting to pressure or violence, he said.

According to the BSP leadership "the legitimately elected legislature of Yugoslavia should solve the country's problems without street pressure and ultimata." The Bulgarian Socialists desire the situation in its western neighbour to be stabilized, it wants Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to develop good-neighbourly friendly relations and considers that each country's internal problems should be solved by the country's own politicians.

SFRY Stance on Macedonia Questioned

AU1303151691 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 9 Mar 91 pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report: "Skopje Attacks Bulgaria Again"]

[Text] In contradiction with the inter-party agreement on the appointment of a government leader from the largest political party of the republic, namely the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization [VMRO], Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov entrusted Dr. Nikola Kljusev, a professor from the economic faculty, to set up a cabinet composed of experts within no more than 10 days. The Macedonian head of state rejected four candidates proposed by the VMRO for the post of government leader, Aleksandar Lipavcev included.

In the absence of a legitimate government, which has not yet been elected although it is now three months since the elections, Tito Belicanec, former vice president of the Republican Executive Council, who has resigned, has directed new attacks against Bulgaria. Commenting on the statement of the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in which our country expresses support for the sovereignty [durzhavnost] of the Republic of Macedonia, Belicanec accused Bulgaria of conducting an anti-Macedonian and anti-Yugoslav policy and of interfering in the domestic affairs of the SFRY.

The declaration of the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs is in contradiction with the aspirations for good bilateral relations and cooperation, he alleges. Several points of view expressed in the declaration are unacceptable. This applies in particular to the portion in which the Bulgarian official state services declare that they will respect Macedonia's territorial integrity if its population should decide to live in an independent, sovereign state. Tito Belicanec claims that this is how a neighbor state is trying to impose its interference and play the role of a decisive factor in settling the Yugoslav crisis.

Macedonian Defense Minister Risto Damjanovski who also attended the meeting rejected the calls of the VMRO for the withdrawal of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] from Macedonian territory. By hinting that Macedonia is allegedly threatened by its neighbors, Damjanovski declared that because the republic was "encircled," a unified defense system is required. According to him, the Macedonian territory can only be protected by the JNA, which is sufficiently strong to cope with the situation in

the Balkans. The demand of the VMRO for the withdrawal of the JNA is aimed at the destablization of both Macedonia and Yugoslavia, according to Damjanovic.

The statement of the former republican secretary is in drastic contradiction with prevailing public opinion in Macedonia. According to the Macedonian people, the greatest danger for Macedonia's territorial integrity today stems from Serbia, which has openly voiced territorial claims for the whole of Vardar Macedonia, calling it once more "Southern Serbia." It would be logical to ask in that case how the JNA is supposed to defend Macedonia against such claims considering that the majority of the Army's command staff is composed of Serbs.

Popov Seeks Expanded Economic Ties With Israel

AU1303220391 Sofia BTA in English 2102 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 13 (BTA)—Bulgaro-Israeli cooperation will start with active contacts in health care, transport and agriculture. Bilateral relations were discussed today by Bulgaria's Prime Minister Dimitur Popov and Mr. Ehud Omert, minister of health of Israel. Mr. Omert is the first Israeli minister to visit Bulgaria after the two countries restored their diplomatic relations.

An agreement on cooperation in health care will be signed tomorrow.

Mr. Popov praised Israel's wise stand in the Persian Gulf war and said that the present political situation in the region provides opportunities for solving long-standing problems. Mr. Popov pointed out that international relations should guarantee small states their right to existence.

Israeli Minister Signs Health Agreement

TA1303142491 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1400 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Health Minister Ehud Olmert, who is visiting Sofia, this morning signed a cooperation agreement in the sphere of health between Israel and Bulgaria. The agreement deals with the dispatch of medicines and of experts from Israel to Bulgaria.

Our correspondent Rina Matzliah reports that this is the first agreement Israel has signed with Bulgaria since the two countries renewed relations.

Foreign Minister Vulkov Returns From Tehran

AU1203225091 Sofia BTA in English 2113 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 12 (BTA)—Today Mr. Viktor Vulkov, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, returned from his visit to Iran. He described it as "a very timely visit," part of Bulgaria's diplomatic activity in recent months.

Listing the specific results of his talks in Tehran he pointed out the agreement relaxing visa requirements, the 100 million dollar credit granted by Iran in goods, the review of contracts on crude oil deliveries, and the progress of negotiations on the start of a Sofia-Tehran air service. According to Mr. Vulkov, bilateral relations will be specified at the eighth session of the Mixed Bulgaro-Iranian Commission in September-October.

Mr. Veselin Pavlov, minister of transport, who accompanied the foreign minister, added that the opportunities for transport cooperation had also been discussed. The two countries are seeking an alternative transport route through the Black Sea. Iran shows interest in Bulgaria as a terminal for the transfer of cargo to and from Europe.

Iran confirmed that the delivery of one million tonnes of crude contracted at the seventh session of the mixed commission will be effected. A second tanker from Iran is expected in the coming weeks. The shipment of another half million tonnes of crude is being arranged. Bulgaria will be given the opportunity to buy another five million tonnes. Iran confirmed its readiness to deliver 1,000 million cubic metres of natural gas annually for 20 years via the Soviet Union. Experts will meet soon to reach a concrete agreement on the matter.

Deputy Chairman Tomov Visits Austria

WA1303143391

For reportage on the visit by Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers Aleksandur Tomov, including a report on his talks with Austrian President Kurt Waldheim, see the Austria section of the 13 March West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Zhelev Voices Support for Turkish Classes

AU1303122291 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 9 Mar 91 p 1

[Vasil Popov report: "The President Does Not Oppose Turkish Language Lessons"]

[Text] The study of one's mother tongue is a constitutional right, and if Bulgaria would like to join Europe, this right should be respected in our country, Presidential Spokesman Valentin Stoyanov stated at yesterday's periodic news briefing in the president's office. He stressed that the president was confronted with this question at all recent international meetings. If we do not resolve the problem, no European country will accept us.

Zhelev has been asked on several occasions to interefere in the current tension that has emerged in certain areas of our country regarding the introduction of Turkish language lessons in public schools. For the time being, no violation of constitutional rights and freedoms has occurrred in Bulgaria, Stoyanov pointed out. If such cases should occur the president will interfere, the spokesman added.

Stoyanov announced that the credit amounting to $88 million that was granted to Bulgaria by the IMF for the purchase of gasoline is a unique and unprecedented in the history of that organization. The decision of the EC Council of Ministers to grant our country 35-40 million ECU [European Currency Unit] for the purchase of foodstuffs and medicines is another sign of recognition for the democratic processes under way in our country.

Turkish Taught in Seven Districts

AU1203224391 Sofia BTA in English 2120 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 12 (BTA)—"Turkish language teaching is a very delicate issue and it has precipitated unrest in some areas, so it is very important that it is settled by a secondary education act which the legislature must urgently pass," Minister of Education Prof. Matey Mateev told the BTA. In his view, only a legal framework can give people the feeling of security, now they are apprehensive about possible escalation of demands. The act will fix the parameters of the instruction and will not let one part of the Bulgarian population to abuse the rights of another part.

The government's decision to introduce the teaching of the Turkish language in Bulgarian schools on an experimental basis sparked unrest in the mixed population areas. Bulgarian nationalist organizations demand a moratorium on the decision until the adoption of the new constitution. Ethnic Turks demand that the teaching of their mother tongue be introduced as regular rather than experimental classes. Protests are going on in Kurdzhali today where the tensions are worst.

Prof. Mateev explained that Turkish is being taught at present to 17 classes in different schools in seven regions: Kurdzhali, Pazardzhik, Burgas, Shumen, Silistra, Ruse and Razgrad.

National Assembly Adopts Foreign Currency Bill

AU1203195091 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] At its session today, the legislature voted on and passed on its second reading the bill on amendments and addenda to the law on foreign currency deals and foreign exchange control. The members also adopted a decision on changing the structure of the Council of Ministers, under which the Ministry of Construction, Architecture, and Town Planning was reestablished, and elected 24 court adjudicators for the Penal Law Collegium of the Supreme Court, and 13 for the Military Supreme Court.

At the moment, the legislature is continuing its debate on the report of the Legislative Credentials Commission.

Assembly Amends Administrative Justice Act

AU1203223991 Sofia BTA in English 2133 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 12 (BTA)—The legislature today passed an amendment to the effective Administrative Justice Act.

Administrative acts can be stayed by lodging a complaint with a court of law. If, however, the complaint proves untenable, the court can order the enforcement of the act. Other provisions of the act help avoid the repeated referral of administrative cases to court.

Another act was also passed today, as part of the package of important economic acts connected with the national budget and the reform. Amendments were introduced to the Transactions in Foreign Currency and Exchange Controls Act. Under the amendments, Bulgarian citizens are allowed to open foreign-exchange accounts with the commercial banks licenced by the National Bank of Bulgaria, they may draw money from their accounts and sell their currency. There were arguments over the amount of hard currency which may be taken out of the country. A compromise was reached as regards the amounts needed for medical treatment abroad. In general, the government and the National Bank will determine the amount and the procedure for taking currency in and out of the country. The Council of Ministers will obviously choose a dynamic legal system: For instance, there will be no restrictions when medical treatment abroad is concerned. Experts say the regulations are permissive rather than prohibitive.

The problem of the closure of hard-currency shops is still unsolved. The legislature judged that it should be left to the discretion of the government.

Today the legislature approved structural changes in the cabinet reestablishing the Ministry of Construction, Architecture and Public Works is restored. This ministry has been reorganized 24 times in the last 30 years alone.

Lukanov Reviews Economy in Silistra Speech

AU1303122991 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 10 Mar 91 p 2

[Nikola Nanev report]

[Text] Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], spoke at a meeting of Socialists and BSP supporters held at Silistra's Sava Dobroplodni Theater. He pointed out that the BSP supports the legally elected government of Dimitur Popov and described the economic reform implemented by the government as the only way Bulgaria has of overcoming the crisis.

Lukanov's meeting with Silistra's economic leaders and representatives of private business evoked great interest. Concern over the city's growing unemployment was discussed.

Turkish Minority Demands Recognition

AU1203211791 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] The Turkish minority in Bulgaria must be recognized. If our rights are not recognized, we will not enter Europe. If we receive a refusal from the legislature, and if this issue is not embodied in the new constitution, Europe will not accept us, and the world will stigmatize us. Chief Mufti Nedyo Gendzhev stated today at a news conference that was attended by diplomats and journalists from Islamic countries.

In the chief mufti's view, some of the nationalistic parties, as he called them, such as the Bulgarian National Radical Party for example, should be banned, because they may create a rift that may prove irreparable. According to Gendzhev, behind their actions lies a somber thought, namely that the quiet, unassuming, industrious, and frightened Turks in Bulgaria should be intimidated once again, to instigate a new exodus to Turkey.

According to the chief mufti, there are now about 2.5 million Muslims in Bulgaria. Although their religious rights have been restored, the same cannot be said of certain of their human rights.

Mufti Defends Muslim Rights

AU1303224191 Sofia BTA in English 2126 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 12 (BTA)—Today Chief Mufti Nedim Gendzhev acknowledged the restoration of Bulgarian Muslims' religious rights. He told journalists, however, that religious rights are just part of human rights and it will be possible to speak of equality only when a Muslim gets a post in the highest echelon of power.

At a press conference attended by the cultural and press attaches of Islamic countries' embassies he argued that there are 2,400,000 Muslims in Bulgaria: 1.5 million ethnic Turks, 500,000 gypsies and 400,000 Muslim Bulgarians. He explained that the latest official statistics on the matter date from 60 years ago but said nothing about the concrete data itself.

The chief mufti lashed out against the activity of the Nationwide Committee for the Defence of National Interests, the Fatherland Party of Labour and the National Radical Party. He noted that apart from self-seeking ulterior motives, they are driven by the ambition to intimidate the Turkish population of the country. He even believes that the aim is to make Turks leave Bulgaria and have Bulgarians from Banat and Bessarabia take their place.

Mr. Gendzhev confirmed his support for the Movement for Rights and Freedoms which unites Muslims in Bulgaria and has 20 MP's. In his opinion, however, the movement's leaders are not believers, for they have never been seen at Friday prayers. The spokesman for the movement is a Jew.

The chief mufti announced that 450 mosques are functioning at present, 12 new ones were built in the past year and there is a request for 40 more.

The construction of an Islamic center, the biggest of its kind in Europe, is envisaged, preferably in the capital. It will cost 10 million dollars, so Mr. Gendzhev appealed for aid to the diplomats attending the press conference.

Zhelev, Popov Attend Army Leadership Meeting

AU1203194591 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] A conference of the leading staff of the Bulgarian Army was held in the Rakovski Military Academy in Sofia today. The meeting was attended by President Zhelyu Zhelev; Prime Minister Dimitur Popov, and Grand National Assembly Chairman Nikolay Todorov.

In his report Defense Minister Colonel General Yordan Mutafchiev expressed the alarm felt by the Collegium of the Ministry of Defense over the present state of discipline in the Army.

The prime minister and the president of the Republic expressed their viewpoint on these problems, as well as on the situation in the country, the economic reform, and certain aspects of our national security.

President Zhelyu Zhelev made an appeal—and I quote—for Bulgaria, irrespective of party passions, to develop as a legislative republic with a market economy, and for the Bulgarian Army to march in step with the people, as it has done until now.

Army Unveils New Uniforms, Symbols

AU1303123391 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 10 Mar 91 p 1

[Boyka Bashlieva report: "Ten Million Leva Just for Buttons of New Bulgarian Soldiers' Uniforms"]

[Text] An exhibition opened at the Central Club of the Bulgarian People's Army, and it is attracting attention, especially the attention of the soldiers. Against the background of the commotion that developed in connection with the 3 March celebrations, one can assume that civilians will also be interested in the new uniforms. Deputy Defense Minister Lieutenant General Stoyan Buchvarov pointed out that the exhibition aims to exhibit the new elements, without the official insignia, whose character will depend on the decisions of the Grand National Assembly on the country's national coat of arms and other symbols.

The soldiers will be relieved of the obligation to carry bayonets, which only evoked their girlfriends' laughter. Furthermore, they will also be relieved of the obligation

to wear belts. During the summer the officers will be allowed to roll up the sleeves of their military tunics.

Completely new combat fatigues will be introduced. They will be made of camouflage cotton, popular recently with teenagers.

No changes in the color and shape of the infantry and navy uniforms are planned. The uniforms of the Air Force and Anti-Aircraft Defense soldiers will be light gray. The dress and working uniforms will be integrated. The working uniforms will become dress uniforms by adding a white shirt, a belt, and aiglets. The shoes will be black, which is a result of the effort to cut corners. The issue of socks remains open. It will be resolved by combining the effort to save means with aesthetics. The infantry will have a new dress uniform, similar to the present uniform of the generals—a gray tunic and blue trousers.

The most significant changes will take place in the uniforms' symbols and accessories. One can assume that the star will disappear from the emblems, buttons, sleeves, and belt buckles. We shall insist only on keeping the stars on the epaulettes, Buchvarov said. The uniforms of many armies, including the U.S. Army, have such stars.

So far one cannot say how much the change of buttons and aiglets will cost. Cost projections are at the modest amount of 10 million leva.

Temporary Guest-Worker Accord With Germany

AU1303112291 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
9 Mar 91 pp 1, 3

[Dimitur Khadzhinikolov report: "Bulgarians Have the Opportunity of Working in Germany"]

[Text] An agreement between the governments of Germany and Bulgaria on the temporary employment of workers from Bulgarian enterprises, based on the fulfillment of working contracts with German companies, is expected to be signed in the near future.

The transfer of our workers will take place on the basis of bilateral contracts between companies from both countries. The transfer is linked to several preliminary conditions. The first condition is that the dates of arrival and departure of the Bulgarian workers' teams (brigades) in Germany should be strictly determined. The second condition is that the scope of their tasks should be specified in detail. The third condition is that the value of the work accomplished should be considerably higher than the value of the workers' wages, which means that specialists rather than unqualified workers should be dispatched.

The maximum deadline for working contracts in Germany is expected to be four years for university graduates and three years for people with secondary school education. An annual contingent of 4,000 workers is envisaged, but they can be unevenly distributed on a monthly basis. Half of the quota is reserved for construction specialists.

Contracts signed between Bulgarian and German companies are subject to the approval of Bulgarian authorities, after which they become legally effective.

It is particularly important to point out that the aforementioned agreement applies to groups (brigades) only. As in the past, the ban on the employment of individual foreign workers is still in force. Gastarbeiters [German vernacular used in Bulgarian transliteration] employed on the basis of individual contracts have not been accepted in Germany for the last 17 years. This should be taken into consideration in connection with the fact that certain Bulgarian companies have recently engaged in a new sort of business. They are collecting data on available jobs in Germany from the advertizing pages of foreign newspapers and selling them to their clients in Bulgaria as some kind of valuable information. They forget to mention that foreigners can be hired for work in Germany only if the respective enterprise proves to the labor authorities that there are no qualified German citizens, or citizens from any other EEC country, for that particular job.

Private Businessmen Threaten Tax Boycott

AU1303124991 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
11 Mar 91 pp 1,2

[Katya Yaneva report: "Businessmen Stop Tax Payments, Will Announce National Lockout"]

[Text] The adoption of urgent measures to develop production and create new jobs, priority benefits aimed at encouraging the private sector, and the acceleration of privatization by giving special conditions to Bulgarian private companies—these are the three demands that the Confederation of Private Entrepreneurs addressed to the government at its 10 March National Conference.

We will stop paying taxes until our demands are met, the declaration adopted by the conference reads. An indefinite national lockout will be announced if the government does not respond by 18 March.

The lockout will probably include state enterprises. Talks related to this are now being held with the Union of Economic Leaders. Stoyan Drundarov, chairman of the union, said that he supports the declaration, but withheld his final reply until Tuesday [12 March], when the Board of Managers will meet. According to rumors it is almost certain that the Union of Economic Leaders will answer positively.

The reduction of the interest on credits, the elimination of taxes on the reinvested share of profit, tax breaks for private companies, the elimination of export and import taxes and fees, and the complete liberation of trade—these are the specific demands included in the declaration.

The declaration was adopted after five hours during which the members of the confederation discussed the private business strategy under conditions of the current economic reform. "Murderous measures" was a concept mentioned in more than 30 statements. Customs fees are already paid according to the dollar market rate. The new import tax is 15 percent, and the export tax—20 percent. The fees have increased 40 percent. The turnover tax has jumped from 10 to 22 percent.

We are in the midst of an aggressive environment, which aims at eliminating private business, Radosvet Radev, spokesman for the confederation, said. He insisted on implementing privatization not through auctions but through competition, "where one can win by using one's brain, rather than just one's money."

Stoyan Drundarov stressed that the tax burden makes it impossible to survive. He predicted early bankruptcies of the state enterprises. In such an atmosphere private business can only assume a policy of wait-and-see rather than initiate something, he said.

At the conference it was announced that a consultative council of employers from the private and state companies will be established soon. The common problems that hinder both the state and private business require that action be coordinated, Drundarov said. He was especially invited to the conference, because the leadership of the confederation thinks that the "economy is the same for all, and it has been endangered."

The economic policy of the government will annihilate business for many years, Confederation Cochairman Dobri Gushterov thinks. We convened this conference because we think that those who really work must also participate in working out the laws.

Government, legislative, and political forces who had been invited to the conference did not attend.

Finance Ministry on Tax Boycott

AU1203223891 Sofia BTA in English 2118 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 12 (BTA)—Failure to pay taxes amounts to defiance of the laws and is impermissible in a state committed to the rule of law, the Ministry of Finance told the BTA in connection with the private entrepreneurs' declaration. On March 11 private businessmen stated peremptorily that they stop paying taxes and if their demands were not granted, they would declare a nation-wide lock-out from the beginning of next week.

The ministry rejects the entrepreneurs' claims that private producers are denied concessions. It points out that Article 87 of Decree 56 gives private companies and leaseholders considerable preferential treatment by making imputed costs deductible from their taxable income.

Government Reviews Business Competition

AU1103182091 Sofia BTA in English 1732 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 11 (BTA)—The bill on the protection of competition the Bulgarian Government considered today envisages demonopolization of the economy and a ban on the creation of monopolies in the economic sectors. Limiting business competition by setting up cartels is also banned. Competition will be also protected by specialized bodies established to this purpose.

The document includes the classical definition of unloyal competition of the Paris Convention on the Protection of Industrial Property.

Quiet Day at Zhivkov Trial Proceedings

AU1303150891 Sofia BTA in English 1415 GMT 13 Mar 91

["The Zhivkov Case: No Sensations Today"—BTA headline]

[Excerpt] Sofia, March 13 (BTA)—The hearing of the Zhivkov/Balev case is going on, attended by fewer journalists and more "spectators."

It is a slack day belying the hopes for a trial packed with sensations. Today the court questioned ten witnesses and it took each of them fifteen minutes at the most to give some details in connection with the distribution of flats from the special quotas of the Security and Protection Department and the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist party. There were people who had distributed flats and others who had been allotted flats. [passage omitted]

Zhelev, ASO Leaders Discuss Political Role

AU1303141991 Sofia BTA in English 1231 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 13 (BTA)—The President of the Republic of Bulgaria Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev today received the Co-Chairmen of the Alternative Socialist Organization (ASO) Mr. Manol Manolov, Mr. Nedyalko Yordanov and Prof. Ivan Nikolov.

The political leaders of the ASO familiarized the president with their opinion on the organization's role for the creation of a center between the political antipodes in Bulgaria. They explained the position of the ASO on the coming elections and on its future as an independent political force. They also discussed the place of the intelligentsia in the present political conditions.

Havel Receives Italian Prime Minister in Prague

LD1303210591 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] President Vaclav Havel received Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti in Prague Castle today. Presidential Press Spokesman Michael Zantovsky said that Vaclav Havel briefed the guest on the present political situation in the CSFR and problems in relations between nationalities. He also explained to him our federative system. The statesmen also discussed the international prestige of the CSFR, Vaclav Havel's forthcoming visit to Brussels, and the progress of economic reform.

Andreotti Views Problems in Country

LD1303183691 Prague CTK in English 1725 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 13 (CTK)—Growing cooperation within the European Communities and cooperation between EC members and other European countries should decisively contribute to settling regional problems by negotiations, Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti said here today.

Speaking at a briefing after talks with his Czechoslovak counterpart Marian Calfa, Andreotti refused to comment on the current Czech-Slovak problems with a constitutional setup. However, he mentioned last Monday's meeting with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar in Rome during which Meciar stressed the need and longing of his country for a full national self-determination and autonomy but absolutely did not mention questions connected with independence.

The Italian prime minister also recalled that the February 1948 Communist takeover in Czechoslovakia and the death of the then Czechoslovak foreign minister Jan Masaryk proved the inviability of coexistence of communism and democracy.

Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa said at the briefing that he considers cooperation with Italy within the Pentagonal (Czechoslovakia, Poland, Italy, Austria, Hungary) excellent and recalled Italy's share in diversification of oil supplies to Czechoslovakia.

According to what a spokesman for the Italian Government said, during his talks with Calfa, Andreotti expressed the view that nations which separate themselves risk the danger of being thrown several decades back after the split.

Calfa, Andreotti on Cooperation Issues

LD1303204591 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 13 Mar 91

["Briefing" by Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti and CSFR Prime Minister Marian Calfa on 13 March; place not given—recorded]

[Text] Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti began a two-day official visit to Czechoslovakia today at the invitation of Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa. Immediately after his arrival, talks began between the two prime ministers in the Hrzan Palace, preceded by a short one-to-one meeting. In the afternoon the Italian guest met Federal Assembly First Deputy Chairman Zdenek Jicinsky and, together with Marian Calfa, attended the preview of an exhibition of Italian art of the first half of the 20th century.

After talks with Marian Calfa, the Italian premier held a briefing which was attended by our editor Lubos Taraba:

[Taraba] The two prime ministers began by summing up the content of their talks this morning. Giulio Andreotti noted that the plans for the development of mutual relations drawn up on last year's visits by Marian Calfa and President Vaclav Havel were being implemented, and this opened up new prospects for the future. There was also mention, of course, of European integration and Czechoslovakia's possibilities in that respect, since Italy plays an important role there. On this Mr. Andreotti had this to say:

[Andreotti, in Italian fading into Czech translation] In the past few months Italy has been pleased to support Czechoslovakia's entry to the Council of Europe. At the same time it is working for an agreement on Czechoslovakia's association with the EC to be ready as soon as possible from the point of view of the final stage, which is entry to the enlarging community.

[Taraba] Prime Minister Calfa had this to add:

[Calfa, in Slovak] We said that we confirmed our attitude toward the EC and our additude toward full membership in the EC once the conditions have been fulfilled. In this connection, I pointed out the excellent cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Italy within the framework of the Pentagonal, and Italy's assistance by its decisions to diversify supplies of oil and gas to Czechoslovakia within the Pentagonal. In the past few days decisions have been taken on specific forms of this diversification by means of deliveries of oil from Austria and Bratislava and from West Germany to Bohemia.

[Taraba] Giulio Andreotti also commented on his recent meeting with the Slovak prime minister. He stated that Vladimir Meciar had spoken about greater autonomy for Slovakia, but there had been no mention of independence. The Italian prime minister is one of the longest-serving politicians of the second Italian Republic. He has been moving in the highest political circles since the end of the 1940's. From that point of view, one personal comment that he made was of interest:

[Andreotti] We Italians are grateful to you for one thing: It is paradoxical but this is how it is. We thank you for the fact that when we had to make a choice in 1948 between the communist front and democracy, the Italian people were greatly affected by the events in your

country in that February. The people saw that communism and democracy could not go hand in hand.

Andreotti, Dienstbier Hold Talks

LD1403103791 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Shortly before his departure from Prague to Rome, Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti met Jiri Dienstbier, deputy federal prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, for a brief working luncheon. According to Minister Dienstbier, the talks concerned settlement of the situation in the Near East and problems in Central Europe, the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia.

Dienstbier: Baltics Should Decide Own Fate

LD1303211391 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] The legal path is the only way to renew the sovereignty of the Baltic republics, Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier said at a news conference in Prague today. He said that the CSFR fully supports the right of the Baltic republics to decide their fate. In this connection, however, he stressed the key role of Moscow and the need for mutual agreement between the Baltic region and the Union center. The chief of our diplomacy sees the role of the CSFR as supporting the democratic forces in the USSR.

Defense Ministry Gives Briefing on Gulf Unit

LD1303201891 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Lubomir Zumar report from the Federal Defense Ministry news briefing in Prague]

[Text] The press attache at the Ministry of Defense, Colonel Peter Tax, briefed journalists on the situation in our antichemical unit in the Persian Gulf. The unit is fulfilling tasks of antichemical research. The basic camp has been moved to Kuwait, about 40 km from the capital of Kuwait. The members of the unit are alright. Colonel Tax went on to report on the head count of the Czechoslovak Army. There are 107,125 soldiers in infantry, 23,734 in air defense, and 21,644 in the Army airforce. Altogether, the Czechoslovak Army has 185,721 persons. The realistic fulfillment in the number of professional soldiers is 90 percent, and in soldiers currently in service 70 percent.

Some changes in the protection of classified information in the Czechoslovak Army were mentioned by Colonel Otcenas. In the past two years, there has been reductions in the amount of classified information in the Czechoslovak Army by 60 percent. As from 1 April, for example, journalists will merely need their press card when entering military units.

Deputy Minister of Defense Dr. Antonin Rasek also replied to journalists' questions. Asked whether he advocates the setting up of an independent Slovak state, he said that it is possible, but that the division of the federation would impair the defense ability of the two republics. That is why we should avoid a division of the Army at present.

Dobrovsky Says Unit To Remain in Near East

LD1403085691 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0300 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] On 13 March, Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky told the members of the Federal Assembly Defense and Security Committees about the situation in our unit in the Near East. Regarding the continuing danger of further local military actions, it will be expedient for our unit to continue to fulfill reconnaissance and support tasks. The defense minister also briefed deputies about the situation in the ministry and delivered a report on the outcome of a new investigation into the preparation and course of military exercise Krkonose in 1980.

Economic Results of Visit to Iran Discussed

AU1303135891 Prague CTK in English 1547 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 11 (CTK)—The question of possible arms supplies to Iran will be solved in harmony with the continuing peace process in the Middle East, Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Jan Kollert told a news conference here today.

Asked about Iran's interest in Czechoslovak arms he said: "In my opinion the countries of this region will always show interest in buying special material".

At a news conference held after the return of the Czechoslovak delegation led by Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier from Iran, Czechoslovak Deputy Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik said that a five-year recovery plan prepared by Iran in 1990 after the war with Iraq is a big chance for the Czechoslovak industry and economy.

Kollert said Iran is ready to supply Czechoslovakia with 3-6 million tonnes of crude annually but that these supplies depend on Czechoslovakia's solvency.

In this connection Czechoslovak Deputy Economics Minister Jan Jicha mentioned talks within the Pentagonal (Czechoslovakia, Austria, Poland, Italy, Yugoslavia and Hungary) on the possibility of building a gas pipeline leading from Iran to Central Europe via Turkey and Greece. He also said Czechoslovakia will supply Iran with 65 trolley buses worth 22 million dollars adding that the delegation also discussed the resumption of regular Prague-Tehran flights.

CFE Signatories Test Inspection Procedures

AU1303140591 Prague CTK in English 2113 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 11 (CTK)—An international model inspection started here today with a meeting of representatives of 22 signatories to the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe which was signed in Paris on November 19, 1990.

The inspection is aimed to check the possibilities of implementation of the treaty's protocol on inspection. Military experts from Czechoslovakia, Germany, Hungary and the United States will tomorrow inspect two Czechoslovak military units in Zatec, North Bohemia. They will proceed to Germany in order to inspect army installations which belong to the Bundeswehr and the U.S. Armed Forces.

Matejka Interviewed on Warsaw Pact Dissolution

AU1303104891 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 7 Mar 91 pp 1,5

[Interview with CSFR Deputy Foreign Minister Zdenek Matejka by Josef Tucek; place and date not given: "Our View of European Security"—first paragraph is MLADA FRONTA DNES introduction]

[Excerpts] On Monday [4 March] we carried an interview with Professor Reiner K. Huber from the Bundeswehr University in Munich entitled "NATO and Us; Straightforward and Without Embellishments." According to his analysis of the security situation in Europe, after the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, it would be most beneficial if an undivided Soviet Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization remained as two main opposite poles. As the most convenient role for Czechoslovakia and other Central European countries, Professor Huber singled out the establishment of a buffer zone separating the USSR from NATO, which would, in fact, help retain security and stability. What role, according to our foreign policy, should Czechoslovakia play in building a safe Europe? How should we ensure our own security at the same time? This was the subject of our interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Zdenek Matejka. [passage omitted]

[Tucek] Let us have a look at Europe as a whole and at the guarantees for European countries' military security. Following the abolition of the Warsaw Pact's military structures, we have the Soviet Union on one side and NATO on the other side, as a kind of counter-axis. The European Community is also flirting with the idea of establishing its own defense system, independent of overseas assistance. What position would Czechoslovakia want to take here?

[Matejka] I would begin with our vision about the ideal solution to security problems that are here and will stay here for decades to come. So far, the Helsinki process has come out as the optimal forum.

[Tucek] However, it is unable to react promptly and ensure the security of countries....

[Matejka] Not yet, really. Today, the 34 countries participating in this process can only agree upon—I would say—the smallest common denominator of the problems being solved. It is not an organization, yet institutions and mechanisms are beginning to be built, for example, the secretariat that was opened in Prague. This gives rise to more opportunities for the future development of security guarantees and cooperation.

The only functioning security organization today is NATO, and therefore, without exaggeration, we are attributing a key role to it. It is not realistic to expect that, following the liquidation of the Warsaw Pact, NATO would react by liquidating its military organization. We understand this completely. This is why, at the Budapest meeting, at which the Warsaw Pact military structures were abolished, we did not agree with the Soviet Union's proposal to appeal to NATO countries to follow us. We want to ensure our security by cooperating with NATO, too. [We want to cooperate] with its military structures, and we want to participate in joint seminars and meetings—one will be held in Prague in April. We are at a stage in which the North Atlantic Assembly, a parliamentary forum of 16 NATO countries, has invited us and other East European countries to be associate members. The Federal Assembly will apparently accept this invitation soon. The contacts along the military line are also being developed; however, there is not the slightest chance that NATO would agree to East European countries' joining the NATO military organization. There is no legal basis for it, and no half-solution is possible from the military point of view. In a military organization, you have to assume all obligations and duties, and then you receive a complete guarantee that any threat to your security is a threat to the security of all the other members. There is no other way.

We also want to become first an associate member and then a full member of the European Community. Not only economic coexistence is involved here, but also the coordination of foreign policy standpoints and defense policy. We assume that after joining the European Community, our security should be fully ensured from the multilateral point of view. This is a distant future as is the pan-European security system based on the Helsinki conference.

For this year and for a couple of years to come, we are attributing the greatest importance to bilateral agreements with all our neighbors. Last week talks with Germany began, and we have prepared draft proposals with Poland, Hungary, and the Soviet Union. Security elements form only a relatively small part of these agreements—their decisive factor is bilateral cooperation in different spheres. We want to harmonize the security aspects to make sure that they do not differ too much, we want a mechanism for consultations to be included in case of a threat, and we must make a binding written agreement that no one will use our territory

against the interests of our neighbor. We are trying to ensure that there are no immeasurable differences between individual treaties. For example, if we retained a security system based on an alliance with the Soviet Union, then this would be inconsiderate toward Germany, of course. If we formed a tighter security mechanism with Germany, however, this would rouse suspicions in the Soviet Union and it would not be appreciated in Warsaw or Budapest, either. We are probing whether it would be possible to conclude a general agreement on future relations with neighboring, neutral Austria. In this treaty we would not be able to avoid security aspects, either, particularly if we understand security as not just a protection against a military threat—a nuclear power plant, which can pose a greater threat to Austria than one of our generals' deciding to attack and annex their country to ours, can become part and parcel of such a treaty. We are also examining the possibilities for concluding similar treaties with other countries, such as France, Belgium, Italy, and Great Britain.

[Tucek] Some observers had expected guarantees for security in an alliance involving Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. Why have none of these countries called for such an alliance?

[Matejka] I believe that one of the reasons is that no matter how innocent our intentions are, this would raise suspicion on all sides. We are concluding bilateral treaties with Poland and Hungary. By the way, we all have similar weapons of Soviet design—we cannot change our weapons—and therefore we also have to cooperate technologically in this sphere. Any creation of a security alliance with aspects of a military bloc, however, would not be beneficial to our security, nor would it strengthen our position in the region. Psychologically, it would have a negative impact. I believe that the Germans would not be happy. A tripartite agreement involving Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary would sound like discrimination against the others. The Romanians and Bulgarians are already criticizing us for contributing toward their alleged discrimination by the West. We are joining the Council of Europe and they are only observers—we are at the center of the West's attention. This ensues from the political and economic situation, yet there is no point in widening this situation even more. All our agreements should encourage cooperation throughout Europe and not disturb it.

[Tucek] What is, in your opinion, the most important thing for Europe's security?

[Matejka] The ratification of the treaty on the limitation of conventional arms signed in November in Paris. I believe that, despite all the problems linked with the transfer of Soviet tanks behind the Urals, where the treaty does not apply, and with the three Soviet divisions who changed their uniforms for marine uniforms, the treaty will be ratified not only in the West, but also in the Soviet Union. This could create—simultaneously with measures taken to strengthen confidence—a basis for the establishment of a security system in Europe. The control mechanism would make it possible for each European country to know practically everything about other countries from the military point of view. Each aircraft, each piece of artillery, and each tank are precisely reported and their deployment will be under tight supervision. This will prevent someone from concentrating more than a few systems of weaponry without being noticed by others. Saddams in Europe would have no chance. If the treaty is not ratified, then it would be an even greater tragedy than if the USSR were to keep its tanks behind the Urals.

Details on Charges Against Bilak, Other Officials

AU0803180391

[Editorial Report] Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 6 March on pages 1 and 7 carries a 1,300-word article by Jan Subert entitled "Charged With Criminal Acts." Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 7 March on page 5 carries a 700-word Jan Subert article entitled "Bilak Refuses To Accept Responsibility." The two articles, which are based on information extended to ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY by Vladimir Nechanicky from the CSFR General Prosecutor's Office, deal with the start of criminal proceedings against Vasil Bilak, former member of the Presidium and secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ]; Leopold Ler and Jaromir Zak, two former federal ministers of finance; and Svatopluk Potac and Jan Stejskal, two former chairmen of the Czechoslovak State Bank. The five men are being held accountable for the "illegal purchase of at least 247 million korunas' [kcs] worth of hard currency" in the years 1969 to 1988 and for the transfer of this money to Moscow as a "contribution to fraternal communist parties in nonsocialist countries," in violation of Czechoslovak foreign exchange regulations.

According to Subert, every year between 1969 and 1988 Vasil Bilak ordered the Ministry of Finance and the Czechoslovak State Bank to purchase $500,000 for the CPCZ Central Committee. CPCZ Central Committee messengers then used to take this money "in cash" to Moscow, where it was deposited in a special account for "assistance to fraternal communist parties." In this way the CPCZ Central Committee obtained "illegally" a minimum of kcs247 million worth of foreign exchange. Although most of the korunas used for these purchases came from the CPCZ's "own resources," at least kcs76 million of this money had come from the state budget.

Subert specifies that Vasil Bilak is being prosecuted on charges of "violating binding rules of economic relations, endangering the hard currency economy, and instigating the crime of abusing the authority of a public official."

Leopold Ler (minister of finance between 1973 and 1985, now reportedly an employee of the Forecasting Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences); Jaromir Zak (minister of finance between 1985 and

1988, now reportedly adviser to the general director of the Investment Bank); Svatopluk Potac (chairman of the Czechoslovak State Bank between 1971 and 1981, now a pensioner); and Jan Stejskal (chairman of the Czechoslovak State Bank between 1981 and 1988, now a pensioner) are being prosecuted on charges of "abusing the authority of a public official and abetting the criminal act of endangering the hard currency economy." The four men complied with Vasil Bilak's requests even though they knew that the money would be used "for payments outside the republic, at variance with the foreign exchange law."

Subert says that the proceedings have only started and will probably take several months because it is still necessary, among other things, to complete an extensive audit of all CPCZ foreign exchange accounts. He mentions that Vasil Bilak was interrogated in the matter in Bratislava on 25 February. On this occasion Bilak reportedly refused responsibility for the criminal acts attributed to him. He argued that decisions on the transfer of dollars to the Moscow account were made "collectively" by the entire CPCZ Central Committee Presidium. He also claimed that he had not been familiar with regulations on the foreign exchange economy. According to Bilak, it would have been the responsibility of the ministers of finance and the state bank chairmen to know that "the mechanism of the transfer of dollars was at variance with the foreign exchange law" and to make sure that the necessary "legal foundations" be established for the transfer.

Dobrovsky Defends Army Against Accusations

AU1203022891 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 7 Mar 91 p 5

[Jan Bauer report: "Who Is Casting Doubts on the Army"]

[Text] "I am certain that the Czechoslovak Army is prepared, able, and willing to fulfill all the tasks prescribed by law so it can defend the CSFR against any external threat from whatever direction," stressed Federal Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky at a news briefing yesterday.

At the same time, he rejected all insinuations that the Army could be misused in a future struggle for political power. In his opinion, all such attacks have a political background and are intended to cast doubts on the Army in the eyes of the public. In this connection, he quoted the words of Reserve Colonel Zbynek Cerovsky, chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party Central Committee Defense and Security Commission, who in an interview given to RUDE PRAVO on Wednesday [6 March] said that "former State Security officers along with nomenklatura Army representatives have established an illegal network that has distributed tasks, armed itself, and is counting on the eventual seizure of power by the Army in the USSR."

Federal Assembly Deputy Michal Maly expressed himself in a similar vein when he described some high ranking Czechoslovak Army functionaries as criminals, saying that this is the greatest danger. Because he did not offer any evidence, or indication of it, in support of his claim, Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky has sent a letter to the chairman of the Chamber of People Immunity Committee asking him to ensure that the deputy specifies his accusations. Only in this way could there be a basis for an investigation into criminal activity if such criminal activity has taken place.

Minister Dobrovsky also announced that, in connection with the above-quoted statement made by Colonel Cerovsky, the Prosecutor General's Office has initiated proceedings to make sure that more specific details can be ascertained. According to the minister, this is the only correct course of action. "If we have any suspicions," he said, "it is necessary to specify them and name them. In the event that those who express such suspicions are unable or unwilling to specify them, they could find themselves on the pillory for slander."

Meciar Denies Slovakia Seeking Independence

LD1303174491 Prague CTK in English 1657 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Bologna March 13 (CTK)—The opinion that Slovakia strives for the creation of an independent state is a disinformation, visiting Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar told a press conference here today.

The Slovak representative arrived for a visit to Italy on March 10.

Dealing with the internal political development in Czechoslovakia, Meciar claimed that the draft declaration on Slovakia's sovereignty, put forward by Slovak intellectuals last week, is not aimed at Slovakia's independence. The document is a draft for a discussion on the creation of a new constitutional setup. The majority of the Slovaks and Czechs are for the preservation of a common state on new democratic bases, he said.

One part of the Slovak delegation, led by Deputy Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky, will stay here until tomorrow and the other, led by Meciar, left here for a visit to Moscow today at the invitation of Soviet Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov.

Slovak Minister Denies Preparations for Coup

LD1303211791 Prague CTK in English 1944 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Bratislava/Prague March 13 (CTK)—Slovak Interior Minister Ladislav Pittner said at a press conference in Bratislava today he has no information confirming alleged preparations for a coup in Slovakia.

Reacting to claims made on Czechoslovak television yesterday by chief editor of the Bratislava student weekly

"ECHO" Milan J. Zitny that changes in the key positions of the city police and their occupation by former communists and StB (secret police) agents "unequivocally prove preparations of the "Obroda" club (associating 1968 reform communists) for seizing power on the territory of the Slovak Republic", the Slovak interior minister described Zitny's claims as a "farce" and pointed out that none of the functions in the Bratislava police command is exercised either by a former communist or an StB collaborator. He announced that the Slovak minister of the interior is studying whether Zitny's claims do not constitute the offense of spreading an alarming report or libel.

He did not react to today's radio statement by Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Minister Jozef Baksay who said that a former Communist Party functionary occupies a prominent position in the Bratislava City Police and that a former active StB agent is a police chief in the town of Michalovce in East Slovakia.

Baksay said that Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar and his political platform "VPN-for Democratic Slovakia" is planning "to seize power completely" and that "power concentrated in one person's hands—be it Stalin, Brezhnev or Meciar—is horrible". In Baksay's opinion Meciar is supported both by the present Slovak Communists and the "Obroda" Communists, led by Chairman Ivan Lahula, a Federal parliament deputy.

Lahula told CTK today that he resolutely rejects Zitny's claims that "Obroda" is planning "a communist coup according to the model of February 1948" (in 1948 communists seized power in Czechoslovakia). Zitny's only reason for attacks against "Obroda" is the fact that the club supports Meciar's policy, he said, adding that "Obroda" supports coexistence of the Czechs and Slovaks on the basis of an "authentic federation".

Chairman of the Slovak Democratic Left Party (former Communist Party) Peter Weiss rejected in the left-oriented Slovak daily "PRAVDA" speculations about the creation of a coalition striving for a leftist coup. By this disinformation "somebody is trying to cast doubt on the legitimacy of the left on the Czechoslovak political scene", he underlined.

Spokesman for the platform "VPN-for Democratic Slovakia", associating Meciar's supporters, Roman Zelenay told CTK that this platform is a centrist movement. The composition of the Slovak parliament creates effective barriers preventing both leftist and rightist coups, he said.

New VPN Platform Issues Anniversary Statement

LD1303224891 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2200 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] The preparatory committee of the Public Against Violence [VPN] for Democratic Slovakia has issued a statement on tomorrow's anniversary of the formation of the Slovak state in 1939. It recalls the historical development of Slovakia as an independent state formation. It says, at the same time, that a number of economic, cultural, and historical links show that the most sensible solution is to set up a federation with the Czech Republic in which the two parts would be not only equal but also equivalent subjects where the bodies of the federation would serve the republics. Conditions have not been created for the birth of an independent Slovak Republic overnight in a favorable relationship with European states because the Slovaks are seen abroad as a nationalistic and chauvinstic people, the statement by the VPN for Democratic Slovakia platform states:

The preparatory committee, on whose behalf the document was signed by Rudolf Filkus for the ministerial group, by Roman Selenay for the interparliamentary group, and by Stefan (Sifra) for the regional group, warns in conclusion against taking any rash steps which would complicate the setting up of a sovereign and democratic Slovak Republic.

Spokesman on Future Referendum in Slovakia

AU1303143291 Prague CTK in English 1432 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 11 (CTK)—Michael Zantovsky, spokesman for Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, made it clear today that in the president's opinion the citizens of the Czech and Slovak Republics should say in a referendum whether they want to remain in one federal state or separate.

The spokesman commented on the increasing calls for sovereignty of the Slovak Republic, the eastern region of Czechoslovakia which accounts for about one-third of the country's population of 15 million.

Zantovsky said it seems that a new coalition of 1968 reform communists, present communists, separatists and forces which reminisce about the 1939-1945 Slovak state (a satellite of Nazi Germany-ed.) as about a golden period of the Slovak nation is taking shape in Slovakia.

According to Zantovsky, this Slovak coalition has its own notions of economic reform. He mentioned the revival of the ideas of national socialism and called it dangerous and perhaps even destabilizing.

Zantovsky said that some speeches of Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar contain elements of reform socialism. He noted that Meciar has repeatedly voiced reservations about the way a radical economic reform is being implemented in Czechoslovakia.

Commenting on calls for changes in the economic reform and for the declaration of Slovak sovereignty he said the citizens should show in a referendum whether they want to remain in one federation or not. Zantovsky noted that the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH)

and other radical Slovak groups say they want to build the Czechoslovak federation from below but they are afraid of a referendum.

According to Zantovsky, the sovereignty of Slovakia could be declared unconstitutionally, not giving the chance to the citizens of this constituent republic of Czechoslovakia to say if they want to separate or not. The spokesman referred to a statement by Prime Minister Meciar that some Slovak National Council (regional parliament) deputies could submit such a proposal in the parliament. This would run counter to the Constitution of the Czechoslovak federation, he said.

According to Zantovsky, a break-up of the Czechoslovak federation would not cause just economic losses but also much greater damage.

The spokesman reiterated Havel's position that as a president he is committed under oath to work for the preservation of the state but he admits the existence of two separate states in case the federation is no longer operational and meaningful.

Zantovsky announced that President Havel will attend a special federal government session on economic reform on March 16.

Czech Government Issues Statement on Situation

LD1303191991 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Statement by the Czech Government on the situation in Slovakia, read by Prime Minister Petr Pithart in Prague on 13 March—recorded]

[Text] The Czech Government, meeting today, discussed the situation in the Slovak Republic and its possible impact on our federal state. Among other things, it approved a statement on the situation. Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart is now going to deliver it:

[Pithart] Dear fellow citizens: We have all been concerned at internal political developments in the last few days. We are fearful for the destiny of our federation. Today, 13 March, the Czech Government discussed the situation that has arisen. It approved the statment of its Presidium dated 11 March and confirmed that it has no reason to alter its basic orientation. We are in favor of a single foreign and defense policy and of radical economic reform, underpinned by a single currency and budget system. In short, we are in favor of a strong federation, because only that can guarantee equal and mutually advantageous coexistence between our republics.

In the last few days voices have been heard calling for the independence of Slovakia. That would mean dividing up the Czechoslovak economy at great cost into two independent units, introducing our own currencies, dividing up our joint energy resources, transport, telecommunications, armed forces, payments owed to and due from foreign countries, and hard currency reserves, dividing up the budget system, and tearing apart innumerable natural linkages. It would mean building customs offices and, when traveling from Uherske Hradiste to Trencin, stopping at Hrozenkov and presenting the contents of our shopping bags for customs inspection.

We consider equally dangerous, however, a state of affairs whereby the federation, while formally existing, is gradually deprived of all its basic functions. The final result would be general chaos accompanied by uncontrollable inflation.

The Czech Government has done everything to insure that nothing of this kind happens. However, because if feels responsible to the people, it considers all options for the future, including ones it does not wish. These could be accompanied by a number of difficulties, but the government is convinced that no situations can possibly arise that cannot be resolved. The foundation of the Czech Republic's stability is its political stability, which is guaranteed by the legitimacy of the Czech National Council and the Czech Government. That legitimacy stems from the outcome of the elections in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, and no external event can therefore cast aspersions on it.

The Czech Government has met on the eve of the 52d anniversary of the foundation of the Slovak state. We wish to remind the Slovak public that in the Czech historical calendar, 14 March is also circled. We have always understood 14 March, and continue to do so, to mean that at that time Slovakia found itself in a difficult situation in which, under duress, it chose the lesser of two evils. If, tomorrow, we were to be persuaded that our understanding was incorrect, this could not fail to affect our attitudes toward Slovak politics.

The government believes that the federation will overcome today's crisis and that the clear standpoint by the Czech government will also contribute to that.

Czech National Council Calls For Referendum Law

LD1303182791 Prague CTK in English 1750 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 13 (CTK)—The Czech parliament issued a statement today calling on the federal parliament to speedily pass a law on a referendum.

In its statement, the Czech National Council noted that the political situation in Slovakia acquired new dimensions in the past few days, adding that the way in which demands for Slovakia's sovereignty are asserted questions the function of the parliamentary system in Czechoslovakia.

The statement said that with regard to the pace of economic reform a fundamental settlement of the question of the federation's existence was urgent. The Czech National Council regards the federal setup of the state as desirable and possible only provided that this federation is a rational and viable state formation, said the statement.

Czech Prime Minister Says Referendum No Solution

LD1303211291 Prague CTK in English 2022 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 13 (CTK)—Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart said today a referendum would not be a solution to the current crisis in Czech-Slovak relations as the problem lay in arranging relations within the federation and this was where opinions differ increasingly.

He told journalists that this was due in particular to a number of Slovak political representatives insisting on a sort of relatively independent Slovak economy.

Referring to calls for a state treaty between the Czech and the Slovak Republics, which would require the existence of two independent states, Pithart said "if we are concerned about being a law-observing state, we cannot consider a state treaty at this moment."

He commented on contemplations about a communist coup in Slovakia and its support by the USSR by saying he has always been allergic to views seeing enemies, agents and dark forces behind everything. He added that it would never occur to him to think of any role of the USSR in this connection.

Commenting on the results of the visit to the USSR by a Czech Government delegation (March 6-8), Pithart expressed regret over the slackening of relations between Czechoslovakia and the USSR. During the visit the delegation concentrated on the settlement of economic problems, being aware that the Czechoslovak economy is in a difficult situation due in particular to the collapse of the market within the member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Czechoslovakia exported the products of 20 percent of Czechoslovak industrial enterprises to the USSR and the transition to payments in hard currency on January 1 caused that contracts worth only one-third of the 1990 volume had been concluded.

Referring to his talks in the USSR, Pithart said that oil had not been discussed as Czechoslovakia has secured supplies of 13 million tonnes through other channels for this year. He had been assured by Soviet partners that natural gas deliveries to Czechoslovakia would not be cut in view of its significant participation in the construction of the Soviet gas industry.

Calfa Interview Notes 'Delicate' Situation

LD1303125891 Prague CTK in English 1200 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Rome March 13 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia is going through a delicate period in its development, with its transformation to a market economy accompanied by nationalism at home and a crisis of perestroyka in the Soviet Union, said Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa in an interview published here today in the daily "IL MESSAGGERO".

Calfa noted that the current visit to Czechoslovakia by his Italian counterpart, Giulio Andreotti, is the first visit by an Italian prime minister in the history of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Discussions between the two prime ministers will focus on political and economic relations, both bilateral and within the Pentagonal—a regional grouping for economic, political and cultural cooperation, composed of Czechoslovakia, Italy, Hungary, Austria and Yugoslavia.

Noting that Czechoslovakia has historically played a strategic role as the crossroads of Central Europe, Calfa said his country is now interested in developing strong alliances capable of providing regional stability now that the Warsaw Pact's military structures have been dissolved.

Asked whether he agrees with President Vaclav Havel that NATO is the only alliance capable of guaranteeing pan-European security, the Czechoslovak prime minister answered: "I myself prefer the accelerated integration of Czechoslovakia into the European Community and close economic cooperation as the basis of security on the continent."

Calfa said the influence of conservative anti-perestroyka forces in the USSR is already appearing, causing crisis in the parts of Czechoslovakia's economy that are oriented toward the Soviet Union. The result was a loss of 4,000 million dollars in 1990. These forces are having a destabilising effect on society and politics as well, noted the prime minister.

Commenting on the activity of nationalist and separatist groups in Slovakia, Calfa said he believed most of the population was opposed to a breakup of the federation and a referendum would show that.

Meciar, Knazko on Slovak Economic Situation

LD0903215191 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 9 Mar 91

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar and Slovak International Relations Minister Milan Knazko by Tibor Sabo in Vranov nad Toplou on 9 March—recorded]

[Text] After visiting Trnava and Zvolen yesterday, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar met representatives of Eastern Slovakia in Vranov nad Toplou today. After a rally, editor Tibor Sabo interviewed Vladimir Meciar and International Relations Minister Milan Knazko.

[Sabo] Mr. Prime Minister, what made you decide to meet the citizens of Eastern Slovakia in Vranov nad Toplou today?

[Meciar] A meeting with officials who work for Public Against Violence [VPN] in district and [word indistinct] offices and some mayors had been arranged for a long time. They notified us about their problems, so we came to visit them. We also wanted to inform VPN officials about our point of view on the situation that exists in the movement and the aims and views on the part of VPN for Democratic Slovakia.

[Sabo] The current economic situation and unemployment are affecting people in Eastern Slovakia as well. What are your views on the prospects for the future in this context?

[Meciar] Well, the bad economic situation does not affect all to the same extent. So far the situation in Eastern Slovakia is much worse than in other parts of Slovakia, and there is no prospect of improvement, rather the contrary is true.

[Sabo] Eastern Slovaks asked in a debate about the preparation of the constitution as well.

[Meciar] Several pieces of material will be given to the public for discussion. One will be presented by the platform of the movement For Democratic Slovakia, and these problems will then be discussed and approved by the Slovak National Council. As far as the federal constitution is concerned, the procedure of its adoption will be more complex, since it has to be made clear whether there will be two or three [nations] in our common state, and what will be the position of political subjects who will be drafting the constitution.

We have to respect the fact that we live and work on this territory and that to be national does not necessarily mean that one has to oppose a common state as well. Nevertheless, we have to respect the existing differences; that is, a mission and a duty of all who hold both government and legislative posts.

[Sabo] Minister Knazko, the economic situation in the Slovak Republic is dependent on the foreign political situation or foreign political orientation. What are you doing for Slovakia in the sphere of foreign policy at the moment?

[Knazko] At the moment we are preparing to take over certain jurisdictions from the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade. To be specific, this will concern registrations and licenses. We are also preparing a proposal for the coordination of foreign noninvestment and investment aid, establishing contacts with many representatives of [word indistinct]. We have some specific results already, like, for instance, the reconstruction of a Bratislava hospital. A study of the situation in transport is also being prepared, as well as a number of other very specific projects.

[Sabo] Cooperation with foreign countries is very important in national issues as well. What contacts are you establishing in this sphere?

[Knazko] Our work is so far based on the platform of regional relations; that is, these are territorial units that come directly after state units. the future of our international relations depends directly on defining Slovakia as a subject from the point of view of international law, and this will be decided by the Slovak National Council deputies. I hope they make the right decision. An enormous chance is opening for us, and I hope that it does not have to be misused, but on the other hand, it cannot be wasted either.

Meciar, Knazko Explain Reasons for New Platform

AU1303132991 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 11 Mar 91 pp 1,2

[Dusan Petrak report on "most interesting fragments" of news conference by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar and International Relations Minister Milan Knazko with unidentified reporters at Vranov nad Toplou on 9 March: "We Can Work Together"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The Great Hall of the House of Culture at Vranov nad Toplou could not absorb everyone interested in meeting [Slovak Prime Minister] V. Meciar and his supporters [during Meciar's visit to East Slovakia on 9 March] [passage omitted]

V. Meciar first explained the reasons that led him to opt for such a radical cut in the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement. [passage omitted] He announced that the VPN Coordinating Center had barred him from publishing the draft of a Slovak Republic constitution formulated under his guidance in the Slovak Government. He also informed those present that, in some mysterious way, a proposal had made its way into the Federal Assembly, under which collaborators' and traitors' property confiscated after 1945 was to be returned in Slovakia, but not in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. Under this proposal, even Hungarians whom we had rightly expelled after the war would be able to reclaim their property.

[Slovak International Relations Minister] M. Knazko explained [former VPN Council Chairman] Jan Budaj's attitude toward the new VPN platform. "He is on our side," he said. But as long as all matters connected with the accusation that he had been an StB [State Security] agent have not been definitely resolved, he does not want to endorse us publicly....[passage omitted]

After their meeting with the public in Vranov nad Toplou, V. Meciar and the ministers accompanying him also found time for journalists. We offer you at least the most interesting fragments from their replies.

[Reporter] Which ministers from the VPN have joined the For a Democratic Slovakia platform thus far?

[Knazko] Five [Slovak] government members (Meciar, Knazko, Filkus, Huska, and Kovac) unequivocally support the new platform, another three ministers have not

yet clearly stated their position, and the remaining four ministers for the VPN back the weaker wing. As for VPN ministers in the federal government, none of them has joined the new platform thus far. A total of 17 deputies to the Federal Assembly and 13 deputies to the Slovak National Council identify with us, and an additional 6 deputies to the Slovak National Council are undecided. This is still a minority, but we have existed for only a few days. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] In his regular television interview [on 8 March], Prime Minister M. Calfa cast doubt on the For a Democratic Slovakia platform, using as his main argument the fact that you are supported by opposition parties. He emphasized, in particular, support from the Party of the Democratic Left. What do you think about Calfa's opinion?

[Meciar] M. Calfa has not joined us. The reason is Mr. Knazko's presence in the For a Democratic Slovakia platform. Mr. Knazko represents a certain continuity of views that is ill-disposed toward this type of politician.

[Knazko, interrupting] That is one way of putting it.

[Meciar continues] As for M. Calfa's unflattering remarks about crowds in the streets, I believe that a civic movement ought to proceed primarily from respect for the citizen. In other words, he cannot say about a group of citizens, regardless of their political orientation, that they are a funny crowd. By saying that, he does not ridicule these people but himself. The other VPN side is trying to defame us in some way. It has taken several directions. It claims that we are a group formed with the active support of former and present communists. By this they want to suggest that we are a left-oriented and politically dubious movement. This is extremely misleading and it is not true because our group has a very clearly defined attitude toward the successors of the Communist Party. They claim, furthermore, that we are under the sway of former political relations. In this connection they are trying to make the public believe that we are going to the USSR to deal there with some sort of political questions concerning the future of Slovakia. That, too, is not true. They are trying to present us as an illegitimate group and are tenaciously working on discrediting individual representatives of our group. Because we are different, we are bound to be evil. Tell me: Did we not do the right thing by walking out?

[Reporter] A rumor is making the rounds, according to which those who wish you ill threaten that they will publish facts about your cooperation with the secret police if you do not resign from the post of prime minister by the end of March....

[Meciar] This is the first time I have heard that. I do not know about any deadline. I do know that a deadline had been fixed for my removal. [sentences as published] I know that organs of the security forces' shadowing service had been working on me for some time. Incidentally, their car had a Kosice license plate. They engaged in this activity up until two or three weeks ago when they were exposed by other services. I know that some campaign of misinformation is being prepared, the aim of which is to prove that I am either a KGB or an StB agent. A third version, which has been dropped meanwhile, had also been worked upon, according to which I had signed an application for admission to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. I know that some people from the Kosice branch of the Federal Information Service had been working on it. There exist testimonies by witnesses that bear this out.

Meciar Faction Deems VPN Body Illegitimate

AU1303133691 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Mar 91 p 2

[Text] CTK—The Constituent Committee of the Public Against Violence [VPN] For a Democratic Slovakia platform assumed a standpoint on the resolution of the VPN Slovak Council of 6 March 1991, from which we select:

We reject the part of the resolution of the VPN Slovak Council that pertains to Slovak Prime Minister V. Meciar and Slovak Minister of International Relations M. Knazko. The principles of cooperation within the movement were violated by the chairman of the Slovak VPN Council and the chairman of the VPN Coordinating Center long before M. Knazko's television speech [of 3 March] when they participated in a deliberate campaign aimed at recalling the Slovak prime minister. With its resolution, the VPN Slovak Council departed in principle from the VPN's A Chance for Slovakia election platform. On the basis of this departure of principle from the electoral platform and the VPN statutes, we can no longer regard the VPN Slovak Council as a legitimate representative of the entire VPN movement but only as a body of Mr. F. Gal's platform. We ask members of that platform to present to the voters an electoral platform, the implementation of which they are able to guarantee.

Representatives of the VPN For a Democratic Slovakia platform in the Slovak Government, the Slovak National Council, and the Federal Assembly continue to comply with all the programmatic points of the A Chance for Slovakia electoral platform and are taking over the guarantee for its implementation.

Meciar Explains VPN Faction's Views on Issues

AU1303141791 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 11 Mar 91 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "Coexistence Is Better Than Confrontation"]

[Text] Vranov nad Toplou— "We need not love each other, but we can work together, at least until the start of the election campaign, if we respect one another so we can implement all that we had promised." This was emphasized by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar on Saturday [9 March] at his meeting in Vranov nad Toplou with Federal Assembly deputies, Slovak

National Council deputies, and representatives of local bodies and the public from East Slovakia who sympathize with the Public Against Violence [VPN] For a Democratic Slovakia platform. The meeting, the aim of which was to explain [Meciar's platform's] attitude to the present political situation in Slovakia, the course of the economic reform, and forthcoming visits by Slovak Republic representatives to Italy and the USSR, was attended by Milan Knazko, Slovak Minister of International Relations; Augustin Marian Huska, Slovak Minister for the Administration and Privatization of National Property; Michal Kovac, Slovak Minister of Finance; and representatives of the so-called Trnava VPN Initiative.

The Slovak prime minister emphasized that the VPN has not disintegrated but that the movement has split into two currents of opinion, the views of which on the future constitutional arrangement of the state and on the method of implementation of the economic reform differ. He once again accentuated the nationalism pillar of the VPN program, but at the same time he noted that nobody from the original platform wants to break up our state but, rather, arrange it to make it suit everyone. In the economy it is necessary to place emphasis on the consequences of conversion, the increase in energy prices, and the growth of unemployment, the repercussions of which in Slovakia are much more severe than they are in the Czech lands. This is also why the planned trip [by a Meciar-led Slovak Government delegation] to the USSR must not be understood as political but strictly economic—as an attempt to renew traditional business contacts and find new, more suitable markets for the products of Slovak industry.

Minister Knazko pointed out that a new, demagogic slogan has become established in society—the "destabilization of an uninformed public." The aim of this slogan, in the minister's opinion, is to camouflage someone's efforts to filter information. Another bogeyman is the so-called Balkanization, a term used to describe any effort at defending the sovereignty over one's own territory against the federation. In his opinion, this shows an infection with distrust of one's own abilities, the belief that Slovakia alone will not accomplish anything economically.

The participants in the meeting were informed about a statement issued by the Constituent Committee of the VPN For a Democratic Slovakia platform. It notes that the principles of cooperation within the movement had been violated by the chairman of the Slovak VPN Council and the chairman of the VPN Coordinating Center long before M. Knazko's television speech [of 3 March] when they participated in a deliberate campaign aimed at recalling the Slovak prime minister. The statement goes on to say that, with its resolution [of 5 March], the Slovak VPN Council departed in principle from the VPN's election platform, A Chance for Slovakia, as it no longer regards a democratic political system based on the rights of free individuals, the full self-determination of the Slovak nation, an expression of which is a common and democratic federation with the Czech nation, and support for social policy as key points of its program.

"Several drafts of a new Slovak Republic constitution are being prepared, one of them by the VPN For a Democratic Slovakia platform. They will be presented to the public for discussion and, subsequently, to the Slovak National Council for approval. The preparation of the federal constitution will be more complicated. Before it is drafted, it must be clear whether there will be two [Czechs and Slovaks] or three [Czechs, Moravians, and Slovaks] subjects in the common state and what their position will be," Vladimir Meciar told journalists after the meeting at Vranov nad Toplou. At the same time he stated that [VPN Council Chairman] Fedor Gal has not said to this day what the new constitution should look like.

Responding to the delicate question of "coexistence" between the two VPN currents until the elections, the Slovak prime minister said that the VPN For a Democratic Slovakia platform is not lacking in goodwill and that there need not be any protracted crisis if the other side's conduct will be the same. An attempt at confrontation cannot be ruled out, however, which he would regret very much.

Asked by the CTK reporter about his assessment of Federal Deputy Prime Minister Pavel Rychetsky's statement at the Friday [8 March] news conference of the Civic Movement, M. Knazko replied that the internal VPN split is a political phenomenon that concerns solely this movement, which has been confirmed also by all other subjects in Slovakia. It is therefore peculiar for a state representative to comment on it, and it is even more peculiar for him to regard it not only as a Slovak problem but as a Czechoslovak one....

VPN Slovak Council Resolution on VPN Split

AU1303125991 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 11 Mar 91 p 3

[Resolution adopted by the Public Against Violence movement Slovak Council in Bratislava on 9 March 1991]

[Text] At its session on 9 March, the Public Against Violence [VPN] adopted the following resolution:

1. It has been confirmed, in harmony with the course of the assembly in Topolcany, that Slovakia and the CSFR are now at a crossroads. We must fulfill the following urgent tasks:

—A long term solution to the legal and constitutional arrangement of Slovakia and the CSFR by adopting all three constitutions;

—Pushing for radical economic reform;

—Purging public life of the officials compromised in the past.

This line has been violated by Minister Knazko's well-known address on Sunday, 3 March 1991.

At the first VPN Slovak Council session after the republican assembly on 6 March 1991, the differences were so great that the following members left the council: Vladimir Meciar, Milan Knazko, Eva Bartosova (Michalovce), Arpad Matejka (Trnava), Juraj Polak (Cadca), Pavol Sevcik (Martin), Lubomir Zamiska (Preividza), Imrich Hamarcak (Svidnik), Milos Kascak (Vranov nad Toplou), Rudolf Goca (Bratislava II), Vlastimil Vicen (Nove Zamky), Peter Voznak (Stara Lubovna), and Dusan Maculka (Lucenec).

2. The group that calls itself a "For a Democratic Slovakia" platform (ZDS) is behaving in a way that will lead to a split of the movement. The Trnava Initiative, to which the new platform subscribes, does not represent the new ideological stream within the movement.

3. The public performance of the ZDS members so far testifies to the fact that their objective is:

—Decreasing the speed of economic reform and putting it at risk;

—Unjustified "nationalization" of economic and other problems;

—Social promises that cannot be fulfilled.

4. Vladimir Meciar and other delegates caused a split in the political forces of the Slovak representatives in the CSFR Federal Assembly, as well as in the Slovak National Council and in the Slovak Government, by leaving the VPN Slovak Council session on Tuesday 5 March 1991.

The chaotic exchange of opinions in the deputies' clubs puts at risk, in particular:

—The passing of the land law;

—The passing of the law on the property of communities;

—The prepared publication of the results of the Commission Investigating the 17 November 1989 Events with the objective of purging public life of State Security collaborators;

— The drafting of the Slovak Republic constitution and the participation of Slovak representatives in the preparation of the CSFR constitution.

The aforementioned social points of view, pertaining to the whole of society, require a speedy solution to the situation, as pointed out on 7 March 1991, by a group of VPN Federal Assembly and Slovak National Council deputies supporting the conclusions of the assembly in Topolcany.

The VPN Slovak Council calls on the VPN deputies to push for early screening.

5. In particular, we are alarmed by some aspects of the current political crisis in Slovakia, which could have an unexpected impact not only on the VPN, but also on Slovakia, the CSFR, and the whole of Central Europe.

In this connection, we demand that the VPN deputies in the Slovak National Council and in the Federal Assembly who have not adopted the "ZDS" platform submit interpellations to the members of the government on the following subjects:

—The misuse of State Security materials;

—The "Demikat" case;

—The former branch of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy in Bratislava;

— The case of the former National Security Corps commander in Michalovce.

6. The VPN Slovak Council states that it has information from Alexander Dubcek that he does not object to having been accepted as a member of the VPN Slovak Council, which took place at the previous session of the council.

7. The VPN Slovak Council calls on all VPN members to respect the legitimacy of the elected bodies and to support them.

8. The VPN Slovak Council declares:

— We are resolved to contribute to stability and to the development in the CSFR;

—We support the draft referendum law, which will show the will of the citizens of the Slovak Republic and of the Czech Republic to live in a common state.

In Bratislava, 9 March 1991.

Slovak Social Union Voices Political Discontent

LD1103234591 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] The political parties and movements affiliated with the platform of the Social Union of Slovakia [Socialni unie slovenska] have reacted to the current political situation. They noted that internal differentiation within the Public Against Violence movement has a logical foundation, but they are disappointed with the manner and form of this process which lacks basic human ethics, democratic principles, and maturity. The differentiation process is leading to the destabilization of political and social life. In this context, they do not agree with the current progress of economic reform and draw attention to the critical situation in agriculture where people's existential needs are in jeopardy.

The political parties and movements affiliated to the platform of the Social Union of Slovakia appeal to the government to prevent the unfavorable trend that is threatening to bring about the collapse of a chain of

enterprises, the ruin of the industrial and agricultural base in Slovakia, and mass unemployment.

Hungarian Representative on Slovak Independence

AU1303134691 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 12 Mar 91 pp 1,2

[Interview with Laszlo Gyurovszky, member of the leadership of the CSFR Independent Hungarian Initiative, by Katalin Decsi; on the telephone from Bratislava on 11 March: "Some 30,000 Demonstrate on Bratislava's Main Square"—first paragraph is NEPSZAVA introduction]

[Text] We were able to reach Laszlo Gyurovszky at the headquarters of the Independent Hungarian Initiative [MNI] on the evening of 11 March. A demonstration was already taking place on the main square of Bratislava; some 30,000 or 40,000 people were demonstrating in favor of Slovakia's secession.

[Decsi] What does the MNI think of these demonstrations, which demand independence for Slovakia?

[Gyurovszky] We do not agree that Slovakia should break away from the federation. As a matter of fact, we issued a communique concerning the current critical situation in Monday's newspapers [11 March]. We believe that there is a danger of a national socialist takeover.

[Decsi] What factors gave rise to the present crisis?

[Gyurovszky] Four elements led to the development of the current critical situation. First of all, I would mention the spread of nationalist forces, which have increased their activities in the time preceding the 52d anniversary of the proclamation of the Slovak State. Second, the Communist Party, the trade union movements led by the Communists, and the groups responsible for past mistakes have not renounced their efforts to hinder the establishment of a democratic system of institutions and a market economy. Thirdly, nationalist and Communist groups see the guarantee of the realization of their plans in the form of Prime Minister Meciar and the platform that he leads, "For a Democratic Slovakia." So far, the prime minister has not distanced himself from national socialist tendencies; in fact, he has stressed that he is only responsible to the people, thereby ignoring the legally elected legislature. Lastly, one cannot forget the geopolitical situation of our country.

[Decsi] What advice would you give to the Hungarian national minority in Slovakia?

[Gyurovszky] In our communique, we called upon our members and upon Hungarians in Slovakia to maintain their common sense, and to do everything possible to safeguard legality. The safeguarding of Czechoslovak unity, a bourgeois social order, and the upkeep of constitutionality are all in the primary interest of the Hungarian national minority in Slovakia.

Slovak Press on Split in VPN Movement

AU1403094691

[Editorial Report] Slovak newspapers on 11 and 12 March continue to publish commentaries on developments on the Slovak political scene following the split in the Public Against Violence movement [VPN], the winner of the 1990 legislative elections in Slovakia. They also publish statements by, and interviews with, leading VPN figures on the situation in the movement.

Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak on 11 March on page 2 carries an 800-word Ivan Hoffman commentary entitled "Good News." The commentary deals with the 9 March Bratislava session of the VPN Slovak Council. One of the subjects discussed at the meeting, according to Hoffman, was the attitude of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], the VPN's coalition partner, toward the VPN's split. Hoffman says: "The view was expressed that while [the faction of] the Slovak prime minister might win popularity among disoriented KDH supporters, KDH deputies have 'mortal fear of the Bolshevization of Slovakia,' especially after the publication of the names of the prime minister's closest collaborators within the platform For a Democratic Slovakia. It is generally assumed that, once he liquidates disobedient VPN members, the KDH will become the prime minister's next enemy. It is clear to KDH representatives that 'there will be no place for them in a democracy guaranteed by Prime Minister Meciar.' The sad fact was even stated that the KDH behaves far more democratically today than the prime minister."

Speaking about the debate at the VPN Slovak Council meeting, Hoffman also says: "The most pessimistic diagnosis of what is happening in Slovakia today was the opinion that we are bearing witness to a 'national socialist putsch.' There also appeared comparisons with [the communist putsch of] February 1948. Great attention of the participants in the meeting was aroused by information imparted by Marcel Stryko, deputy to the Slovak National Council, about his recent conversation with the Soviet consul in Bratislava: 'Mr. Orlov knows well the situation in Slovakia. He tours Slovak districts, and visits local VPN organizations. He told me that the USSR would in no case protest the division of the CSFR and he was extremely surprised that at its assembly in Topolcany the VPN did not elect a man of such abilities as Mr. Meciar its chairman. I am more afraid than I was two years ago,' Marcel Stryko said."

Hoffman also has one "piece of good news" for Meciar's supporters in "nationally and left-wing oriented parties" outside the VPN. As he points out, "it has turned out that Vladimir Meciar is not a member of the VPN. He and Minister Knazko never filled in the application form."

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 11 March on page 2 carries a 600-word Frantisek Melis commentary entitled "Meciar's Recruiting Campaign." Melis contrasts the behavior of the two VPN factions. While Meciar reacted

to the split as a "man of action" and set out for the Slovak countryside to gather support for his platform, "the group of intellectuals in the Bratislava VPN center reacted in its own way—by calling an extraordinary session of what remains of the VPN Slovak Council to consult on a further course of action." Melis also analyzes the composition of supporters of Meciar's "For a Democratic Slovakia" platform. As he points out, it is an "interesting community" made up of the VPN right wing, rallied around the so-called Trnava Initiative, the centrists, as Meciar refers to himself, and former Communist Party members, such as Alexander Dubcek, Milan Cic, and Ivan Laluha. Melis says that these diverse groups "need one another in the war that they declared on the other side." As to their future coexistence, Melis says: "An interesting symbiosis of coexistence can be expected, in which [Former VPN Council Chairman] Jan Budaj, who has supporters not only among members of the Trnava Initiative, could play the decisive role. It seems that he is playing the role of an eminence grise in the movement. Vladimir Meciar and the other members of the leadership of his platform may thus soon find themselves waging a two-front battle...."

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 11 March on page 3 carries a 500-word Igor Cibula commentary entitled "Not an Insignificant Step." The commentary deals with the founding of the "Center Initiative" within the VPN. Cibula believes that this initiative may represent the right path toward overcoming tensions on the Slovak political scene.

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 12 March on pages 1 and 2 carries a 350-word Jan Fuele report on a VPN briefing held in Bratislava on 11 March. According to Fuele, Juraj Flamik, chairman of the VPN Coordinating Center, was asked at the briefing whether it is true that Vladimir Meciar is not even a VPN member, as suggested by Ivan Hoffman in the 11 March VEREJNOST commentary. Flamik is quoted as having replied: "According to the statutes, only a VPN member has the right to vote and to be elected. This is why we distributed application forms in the VPN Ministerial Club and at the VPN Republican Assembly. The prime minister never filled it in, which means that he has never joined us in this form." Addressing the same briefing, VPN Council Chairman Fedor Gal reportedly called on the Slovak legislature to consider the responsibility of people who caused the present "destabilization" of the situation in Slovakia: "In this connection he mentioned Milan Knazko who, in the opinion of one of the delegates to the Saturday [9 March] extraordinary meeting of the VPN Slovak Council 'is beginning to build the corridor through which democracy might leave Slovakia'".

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 12 March on page 3 carries a 600-word Igor Cibula commentary entitled "Dangerous Simplifications." The commentary deals with the escalating conflict between the two VPN factions. Cibula says that both the labelling of the political orientation of Vladimir Meciar as a "leftist coup" and the challenge of the legitimacy of the VPN Slovak Council by Meciar's For a Democratic Slovakia platform "does not hold water" and represent "dangerous simplifications." Cibula regrets that, in pursuit of their power ambitions, representatives of both factions escalate the confrontation and ignore the interests of VPN voters.

Cibula criticizes, in particular, the attempts by "Jacobins" in the VPN to oust from the movement all former Communists. He says that these "radicals" demonstrate "an insufficiently developed sense of political reality" because they do not realize that without the presence of Alexander Dubcek and other former reform Communists on its ticket, the VPN would have never been able to win the elections. In Cibula's opinion, the problems connected with the implementation of the economic reform are not caused by the presence of former Communists in public life but by "the absence in our society of an influential social stratum that would have material interest in the uncompromising assertion of the principles of the market economy."

Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak on 12 March on page 3 carries a 1,200-word interview with Marcel Stryko, deputy to the Slovak National Council and member of the VPN Slovak Council, by a "yd"- signed VEREJNOST correspondent entitled "What Are the Causes of the Split." Stryko is convinced that Meciar's For a Democratic Slovakia platform would not have been created had Meciar been elected chairman of the VPN Slovak Council at the VPN Assembly in Topolcany. The platform's founding, he says, "derives directly from the vanity of Meciar and Milan Knazko." In the interview, Stryko criticizes Meciar for never consulting his decisions with the VPN, which has often been forced to "iron out" errors committed by the prime minister.

Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 12 March on pages 1 and 4 carries a 1,700-word interview with Jan Budaj, VPN founder and first chairman, by Pavol Juracka entitled "I Am for Meciar." In the interview, the date and place of which are not given, Budaj expresses his support for Prime Minister Meciar in the VPN infighting. He supports Prime Minister Meciar, Budaj says, because there is "no alternative" to him and he supports Minister Knazko for his "frankness." Budaj also expresses support for the accentuation of the national element in the program of the VPN For a Democratic Slovakia platform. Asked whether he would take part in the platform's work, Budaj says that he would like to take part "in discussions about the philosophy" of this VPN wing. He adds, however, that "for the time being I do not intend to become one of its political representatives."

Budaj warns that confrontation between the two VPN platforms might destabilize the political situation in Slovakia. A more "productive arrangement" of relations between the two platforms would be to make them into political subjects that would conclude a coalition agreement for the period until legislative elections.

Havel Visits Lavosice Chemical Works

LD0803215491 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 8 Mar 91

[Text] President Vaclav Havel is in North Bohemia today. He is accompanied by Josef Vavrousek, minister and chairman of the Federal Committee for the Environment, and by Ivan Dejmal, Czech minister of the environment. Naturally, he is mainly interested in environmental problems, which are exceptionally acute in this region. The first stopover of the Czechoslovak president was the immediate vicinity of the North Bohemian Chemical Works in Lovosice. Minister Josef Vavrousek briefed President Vaclav Havel about the production of the enterprise, artificial fertilizer and other chemicals. Its production technologies are mostly obsolete and, according to Minister Vavrousek, it is therefore essential to principally renew them and to change the production program in a way that would prevent environmental pollution, as well as to prevent pollution by the use of the products themselves.

President Vaclav Havel noted that the North Bohemiam Chemical Works in Lovosice presents two sources of danger to the environment. On the one hand, nitrogen is escaping, because of imperfect technological processes, in effluents and is damaging the atmosphere. On the other hand, the fertilizer, which is used in large quantity, destroys the soil.

President Vaclav Havel was interested in the extent of danger for the environment of the region represented by the North Bohemiam Chemical Works. According to Minister Vavrousek, its share is considerably lower than the share of thermal power stations. It is on order of some 5-8 percent.

According to the published schedule of the trip, President Vaclav Havel will go to Usti nad Labem, Decin, Chabarovice, and Teplice.

Havel Talks With Usti nad Labem Mayor, Others

LD0803221491 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 8 Mar 91

[Excerpts] The visit to North Bohemia by President of the Republic Vaclav Havel continued today with a meeting with representatives of Usti nad Labem in Strekov Castle. Lukas Masin, Usti nad Labem mayor, briefed Vaclav Havel about the history of and current prospects for the city. According to him, Usti nad Labem has a number of problems, many of them environment-related. The pressure gas plant, the Spolchemie chemical enterprises, and the slag-heap at Chabarovice are close to the town and are among key factors having a negative effect on the ecology. [passage omitted]

Participants in the discussion, who included environmentalists, architects, urbanists, and other specialists, noted that North Bohemia paid for the overall orientation of our industry in past decades. They voiced a conviction that the North will be helped by the transformation of the entire Czechoslovak economy. Federal government minister Josef Vavrousek spoke about international aspects of ecological problems in the Czechoslovak-Poland-former GDR territory triangle. He said that we are sending each other effluents and that we are ruining each other's environment. He recalled the efforts leading to a joint solution. Intensive work is currently under way on the drafting of a joint regional program for Central European coal basins, the result of which should be to clean up this dirty triangle.

Civic Democratic Party Congress Set for April

LD0803174391 Prague CTK in English 1534 GMT 8 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 8 (CTK)—"For the time being we have no plans to join the bloc of the democratic right, even though we do not rule out . . . integration with other rightist groups in the future", said Milan Kondr from the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) Preparational Committee at a press conference today.

ODS, one of two newly formed parts of the Civic Forum, announced that it is planning its first congress for late April.

Commenting on the split within the Slovak movement Public Against Violence (VPN) earlier this week, other members of the ODS Preparational Committee described it as normal political evolution and a search for new directions. ODS hopes to continue its cooperation with Slovak politicians in the future, they said.

Notable by his absence from the press conference was Preparational Committee Chairperson and Federal Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus.

As for the constitutional arrangement of Czechoslovakia, Petr Kucera said the two-member federation of the Czech and Slovak Pepublics was too fragile and vulnerable to nationalist passions. The ODS policy is to support a federation based on territorial rather than national principles, he added.

Civic Forum Daily To Become Private Newspaper

AU1203092391 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Mar 91 p 5

["(dam)"-signed report: "A Privately Published OBCANSKY DENIK"]

[Text] Prague (From our own correspondent)—OBCANSKY DENIK [Civic Daily], which since 25 February (following the assembly where the Civic Forum [OF] split into two entities) has been published without the movement's symbol on its masthead, will be published as a private newspaper with the participation of a foreign sponsor. According to a statement made by the daily's chief editor, disputes within the OF and financial difficulties threatened the newspaper's existence. The

OF Council, which held its last session on Tuesday [5 March], wanted to cease publication of this newspaper at the end of March. The editorial board did not share this opinion, however, and, despite economic problems, decided to continue publishing the daily.

According to our information, OBCANSKY DENIK's management is now negotiating with several foreign sponsors who could provide the daily with a "financial injection." The editorial board has, so far, neither revealed their names nor whether German or other foreign capital is involved.

Antall, Soviet Officials Discuss Troop Withdrawal

LD1403045591 Budapest MTI in English 2043 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 13 (MTI)—According to a communique forwarded to MTI by the prime minister's press office, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall received Soviet Ambassador Ivan Aboimov and Lieutenant General Viktor Shilov the Soviet Government commissioner in charge of troops withdrawal affairs, in Budapest on Tuesday.

Speaking about the financial aspects of the Soviet troops withdrawal from Hungary, Antall said he thought it necessary for mutually acceptable means to be devised for the valuation of buildings and the estimation of environmental damage.

An expert committee headed by government commissioners will draw up the plans and coordinate the proposals.

Soviet Banks Open Letters of Credit

LD1303152591 Budapest MTI in English 1336 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 13 (MTI)—According to figures from the Budapest representation of the Foreign Economic Bank of the Soviet Union, Soviet letters of credit worth more than $58.5 million have been opened at Hungarian commercial banks this year, the deputy head of the office told MTI's correspondent on Wednesday.

Although the $20 million worth of Soviet letters of credit opened recently may give Hungarian exporters some cause for optimism, there has been no relevant change in Soviet-Hungarian trade as yet, with only a fragment of the contracted export value of nearly $1.7 billion delivered so far.

Security Expert on 'Instability' in Region

AU1403112391 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 12 Mar 91 p 1

[Csilla Medgyesi report: "Disintegration Is Threatening"]

[Text] Tensions are growing in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The danger of disintegration threatens not only the Soviet Union but also Yugoslavia, and, lately, there have been increasingly vociferous demands for an independent Slovakia. We asked Peter Deak, director of the Hungarian Security Policy Institute, what all this could mean for Hungary.

Peter Deak told MAGYAR HIRLAP that the Security Policy Institute observes growing tensions in nearby countries and the possibility of disintegration in Hungary's neighboring states primarily to establish what consequences these developments could have for our own security. For five or six months, the Institute has been observing new dangerous factors, and the worst-case scenario, according to the Institute, would be if the situation evolved in such a way as to create latent instability along Hungary's borders.

Over a longer period of time, it seems that unstable situations have developed in the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia, and armed forces might play a role in the resolving of tensions.

For example, the Security Policy Institute warned in good time about the risk of increased tensions in Yugoslavia. Peter Deak explained to us that the situation in the SFRY is further complicated by the fact that the important element that holds the Federation together is the Army—an Army that is Yugoslav, an Army where party organizations are strong, an Army whose role is so evidently to maintain public order. Anybody familiar with Yugoslav circumstances could have predicted with certainty that separatist moves, and Serbian or Croatian turmoil, would be crushed by the Army, not the police force, and that as soon as the situation was consolidated, the Army would withdraw.

When a neighboring country puts its Army into action, laymen immediately tend to think that we should be frightened as well. Peter Deak believes quite the opposite. Indeed, if there is somebody to maintain order, then instability will not threaten Hungary's borders—at least, not in the case of Yugoslavia. The situation is different in the Soviet Union, where the Army would be the main force behind a backslide. A backslide in the Soviet Union would cause even greater destabilization, and it might lead to civil war. This would mean that masses of refugees or deserters from border republics such as the Ukraine would come to Hungary, and even the planned pace of Soviet troop withdrawals could be jeopardized. As far as the CSFR is concerned, Peter Deak sees no dangers from a security policy point of view; the domestic reorganization of Army units is running according to plan. Growing political tensions and the strengthening of Slovak secession tendencies are another matter, but it is the politicians who have to react to changes in political behavior. To us, the situation that has developed in the region and the restoring of stability in our neighboring states is particularly important because of our Hungarian national minorities abroad. Peter Deak sees the Yugoslav situation as the worst from this point of view: For the Hungarian national minority in the SFRY, the situation is more tense than it ever was in Romania, for example. Indeed, in Yugoslavia, Vojvodina Hungarians represent a bone of contention at three different levels—between two clashing nation-states, within Serbia, and within Yugoslavia as a federation. Under such circumstances, incidents like Hungary's arms sale to Croatia only serve to increase tensions. To protect the interests of the Hungarian national minority in the SFRY, the Hungarian Republic has to restrict itself to urging a collective agreement on the safeguarding of interests. Peter Deak believes that the Yugoslav Government would probably accept such a proposal

in an understanding way. In any case, we should immediately prepare for the fact that an increase in tensions might lead to the mass emigration of ethnic refugees toward Hungary. As it happens, Hungary has no scenario for such an eventuality, so the relevant institutions and organizations are unable to prepare for possible measures to be taken. We have no refugee policy; we have not yet decided whether we will relate to the refugees in a European way or on the basis of self-defense; we have not decidod whether ethnic Hungarians will be given priority among refugees, and whether such a policy would be correct. In any case, on 4 February, the Security Policy Institute held an informative session on the aforementioned dangers for representatives from 27 institutions and organizations. From the point of view of the future, Peter Deak sees it as a good sign that, in collaboration with other ministries, the Interior Ministry's Office for Nationalities' Affairs has started working on the elaboration of a concept for refugee affairs.

Antall Attends European Statisticians' Conference

AU1303105991 Budapest MTI in English 1816 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, 11 March (MTI)—Hungary has already established its system of workable democratic political institutions and laid down the foundations of a market economy. The government's success in attaining its aims with regard to administering historical justice and preserving the country's ability to function properly depends on whether the Hungarian people are able to bear the social burdens stemming from transformation, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall said at the Budapest seminar of the conference of European statisticians in Budapest on Monday.

Antall went on to say that there was no global crisis in Hungary. Although there are some disturbances in the functioning of the Hungarian economy, the economy as a whole is adjusting itself to the changing requirements, Antall said.

The conference of European statisticians, a subsidiary body of the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), holds seminars every four years. After Washington, Moscow, and Paris, Budapest is now hosting the fourth seminar of this kind, focussing on statistical services.

The seminar was opened by Siegfried Apelt, director of the statistical section of the ECE and secretary of the conference of European statisticians.

MSZP Chairman on Tasks, Party's Struggle

AU1303132591 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 9 Mar 91 p 7

[Interview with Gyula Horn, former foreign minister and current chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP), by Dezso Pinter; place and date not given: "There Is No Danger of a Right-Wing Dictatorship, But There Is a Danger of a Showdown"—first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Excerpts] The events of recent months show that the left is gaining ground in Hungary—Gyula Horn says. He is not afraid of a right-wing dictatorship, but he is much more afraid of the spreading of an extremist political mood and the beginning of a showdown process. According to the former foreign minister, it is difficult to prove one's innocence in this country. It is enough to accuse someone and something will always stay in the air, despite the denial. Asked whether he could come up with a coalition in which the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] could also participate, Gyula Horn gave the following surprising answer: "There is no party among those participating in the government with which the MSZP could not cooperate under certain conditions."

[Pinter] "Few people desire success more than he does and few people are more bitter about failures than he is"—I heard this opinion about you, and I would not say that one of your enemies said it. What do you have more of nowdays: successes or failures?

[Horn] I am traveling around the country and I see that people remember everything that we have done. There is increasing comparison between our former government and the current government, and all this brings me satisfaction. I feel that I cannot make use of all the things I learned in the course of many years, things that I have some knowledge about. I do not long for a ministerial position, but I often only struggle as an opposition politician. Together with many of my fellow deputies, we often make proposals with the best of intentions and professional knowledge, but all this is in vain because the coalition parties vote them down just because these proposals come from the opposition. Failure to come up with results sets me back tremendously. We started a lot of things in the Foreign Ministry, and the country would be different now if we had had time to continue. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] The name "successor party" is haunting the MSZP like a shadow. Do you have any information about the links of the current membership to the old regime?

[Horn] We do not have exact information on that, but we estimate the membership at around 35,000-40,000 people. As far as I know, most of these people are new members; in other words, they were not members of the former Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]; however, I do not regard this as extremely important because many former MSZMP members are now in the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKgP], the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], or the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]. The important thing for the party is to be able to consistently renew its program, policy, and style. Without a left-wing party, the country cannot be led to the conditions of European civilization. The MSZP is currently the only left-wing party in the National Assembly.

[Pinter] Most of the current political analyses show that leftist thinking is now finished in Hungary for a long time to come, because leftism equals the fallen regime for most of the Hungarian public. Do you accept all this?

[Horn] The events of recent months show that the left is gaining ground in Hungary and it could become the third largest political force in Hungary in a year or two, after the national Christian and liberal trends. There are many people in this country, especially among the intellectuals, who are definitely leftist, but they distance themselves from the MSZP and the other parties as well—for the time being. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] There are also MSZP experts who participate in working out the SZDSZ crisis program. Does this fact contain some kind of political message?

[Horn] This does not mean anything special, only the acceptance of the fact that there are many outstanding economic experts among the MSZP members.

[Pinter] What about cooperation?

[Horn] Our contacts with the SZDSZ are increasing constantly and this is natural because, in many respects, we have similar ideas about political institutions and political style and activity. We also have differences, but I do not regard them as dramatic. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] As chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Hungarian National Assembly, do you have a chance to influence the government's foreign policy?

[Horn] Very little chance, because every measure must be coordinated with the Committee, and the majority here is made up of the coalition parties. At the same time, there are good relations between the members of the Committee, and tensions emerge mainly from the way the members evaluate the activity of the foreign minister and our government's foreign policy. It also happens that I disagree with a deputy from another opposition party. The government is right in continuing the "building of relations" with the West, but it hardly shows any activity regarding our neighbors, and this causes serious damage.

[Pinter] Do you see any chances for the MSZP to be part of the government, in any coalition?

[Horn] Everything is possible in Hungarian public life, although the other five parliamentary parties are keen to express—some of them mildly and others in a tough manner—that they do not want to have a coalition with the MSZP. This is the current situation. We promised a constructive opposition role, and this is what we are carrying out. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] Could you foresee a coalition with the MSZP as a member?

[Horn] There is no party among the parliamentary parties with which the MSZP could not cooperate under certain conditions. [passage omitted]

Coalition Parties Agree on Compensation Bill

LD1303122291 Budapest MTI in English 1105 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 13 (MTI)—As reported earlier, leaders of the ruling coalition parties and their parliamentary groups, together with representatives of the government, came to a consensus on all the main aspects of the compensation bill on Tuesday. Details of the agreement will be discussed by the government at its next session, as well as by the party leaderships.

According to Wednesday's NEPSZABADSAG, the bill envisages the return of land to its former owners up to the value of 1,000 gold crowns (a measure of land quality in Hungary, with 1,000 gold crowns being approximately equivalent to a 50 hectare plot of land. Earlier the government had proposed 30 hectares for the upper limit of full compensation, the Christian Democrats 50 hectares, and the Smallholders 60 hectares.) above the 50 hectare limit, the size of land to be returned is to be determined on the basis of a degressive scale.

The forint equivalent of a gold crown, however, is still a matter of debate. According to former proposals, it stands somewhere between 750 and 1,000 forints.

Another important part of the agreement is that land will only be returned to those who are prepared to cultivate it. Consequently, the bill no longer stipulates that the beneficiaries must live on the land itself.

During the negotiations, the Hungarian Democratic Forum was represented by Jozsef Antall, prime minister, and Imre Konya, head of the parliamentary group, the Christian Democratic People's Party by Laszlo Surjan, president, and Tibor Fuzessy, head of the parliamentary group, and the Independent Smallholders' Party by President Ferenc Jozsef Nagy and General Secretary Sandor Olah.

Before the parliamentary debate, the compensation bill, together with the more than 300 proposed amendments, is to be discussed by the parliamentary committees.

Walesa Accepts Invitation To Visit USSR

LD1303195191 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] President Lech Walesa has received the Soviet ambassador to Poland, Yuriy Kashlev. The ambassador passed on an invitation from President Mikhail Gorbachev for Walesa to make an official visit to the Soviet Union in the near future.

The invitation was accepted. The date will be established through diplomatic channels.

Advisory Council Statement Urges Spring Election

LD1303203191 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Social expectations and the declarations of significant organizations are unanimous: The earliest possible date for the elections, the best date, is the first quarter of this year, says a statement of the President's Advisory Council on the issue of the postponement of the parliamentary elections.

The adoption of the draft electoral law as proposed by the Sejm constitutional commission would make spring elections impossible. This draft was a result of an interparliamentary compromise—that is, a continuation of the roundtable agreements—and a result of the will to maintain the enforced agreement with the communists.

The postponement of the elections until autumn, the statement reads, would take place in a situation when the authorities in the Soviet Union have blocked agreements concerning the limitation of conventional armed forces in Europe, refused to ratify agreements on the withdrawal of armed forces from Germany, and rejected Polish proposals concerning the date for the Red Army withdrawal from bases on the territory of the Polish Republic.

Postponing the elections will result in extending the period during which the provisional Polish Government remains in power, will allow compromised and incompetent persons to remain in the administrative apparatus, will continue the application of methods of transforming the national economy which brought huge benefits to the former nomenklatura, will [word indistinct] postpone by many months the possibility of joining western economic and political structures, and finally, will lower the authority of the Sejm and also of democratic ways of governing.

Work on the construction of independent and democratic Poland has been disturbed and hampered.

The Sejm's work on the electoral law so far—the statement of the president's Advisory Council continues—serves to delay the democratization processes. We have no guarantees that the draft that is being prepared will meet social expectations, nor that when it is ready it will make possible elections in early spring. We are threatened by further divergence betwen desires and expectations of the nation and decisions of the highest authorities.

Election Setback Must Be Kept 'in Proportion'

AU1303154291 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Mar 91 p 1

[Piotr Winczorek commentary: "These Things Happen"]

[Text] The long awaited Sejm debate on the subject of voluntary curtailment of its full parliamentary term and the adoption of a new election law produced the outcome that had been widely predicted. The presidential draft for a new election law, instead of spurring the Sejm to greater efforts, looks like it will have the opposite effect and slow things down. The Sejm firmly rejected accusations that it alone still carries the stigma of illegitimacy, and that it alone should bear the responsibility for the curse of the "roundtable" accord. Sejm deputies decided to refer the presidential draft, as well as their own draft of a new election law, to the Sejm's Commission on the Constitution. They also voted to bring the Sejm's term to an end in the fall. At this stage, it is still not clear whether the subject of the election law and its eventual adoption will make an appearance on the agendas of the upcoming Sejm sessions.

Grave doubts were cast on essential issues in both election law drafts and it may be difficult to find a working compromise between them, and who knows, whether to break the deadlock, some novel legislative solution—just waiting for the right opportunity to come along—is not finally adopted.

The decision to postpone parliamentary elections well beyond the suggested date of 26 May 1991, the rejection of the president's proposal to keep the present Senate, and the dismissal of his request to apply accelerated parliamentary procedure to his election law draft, must be a definite setback for the head of state. One should keep these things in proportion, however. In other democratic systems, where both the president and Parliament adopt entrenched positions, clashes between both sides are unavoidable. One only has to look at the relatively frequent presidential setbacks in the United States in their dealings with Congress.

It would be a bad thing if this outcome—made more delicate, because it comes at the outset of a new presidential term—was to herald a series of similar incidents. In Poland, we regrettably have a long tradition of ongoing disputes between the legislature and the executive and the end result was that it not only sapped the strength of each side, but also led to a collapse of state authority.

It would be equally harmful, if we were now to witness a feud about who won and who lost, or who gained and who came out bottom, or about lurking dark forces, or

whose honor has been slighted or prestige lost. All parties who are directly involved in this issue should show the maximum of restraint and not seek to split hairs. They should also avoid accusing their opponents of bad faith, dark motives, and false intentions.

Although the Sejm debate became quite animated at times, it was far removed from the antics one sometimes sees in other parliaments. At least nobody present seriously questioned the fact that the Sejm should curtail its term this year and that a new Sejm should be elected, so that democracy is seen to have its way. The agreement on these fundamental issues should see good sense prevail over the unavoidable difficulties that the deputies are bound to encounter when they come to decide on the final version of the new election law.

Kaczynski Reportedly Advocated Sejm Dissolution

AU1403091591 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 11 Mar 91 p 1

["kn, krzem, knysz" -signed report: "A Threat To Dissolve the Sejm"]

[Text] We have learned unofficially that during the Sejm debate on Saturday [9 March], representatives of the presidential chancellery—Secretary of State Slawomir Siwek and his chief, Minister of State Jaroslaw Kaczynski—telephoned the head of the Sejm Chancellery, Ryszard Stemplowski, at about midday and then at 1415.

Siwek said that Walesa was upset at the way in which the Sejm had treated his constitutional amendment and draft electoral code and that he intended to address the nation. Sources close to the Belweder Palace state that Walesa's television address was recorded two weeks ago. In the end, Walesa decided not to go ahead with the address. Meanwhile, Minister of State Jaroslaw Kaczynski telephoned Stemplowski two hours later.

According to what we were told on Sunday, Kaczynski said to Stemplowski: "I treat very seriously the insult that was delivered to representatives of the president by the Sejm, which behaved in a manner that recalls the standards of conduct to be found in village public houses. I demand apologies." (Kaczynski told journalists on Sunday that "there were no apologies").

We understand that Stemplowski informed the Sejm marshal, Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, about the conversation. Kozakiewicz, however, was of the opinion that a statement made on the telephone, even if it comes from the president's chancellery, cannot be treated as if it were the president's official position and that there was no need to inform the Sejm.

The head of the Sejm chancellery declined to comment. On Sunday, however, Kaczynski said that he had advised the president to respond vigorously. "I would even consider the possibility of dissolving the Sejm," he added.

In accordance with Article 30, Paragraph 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland, the president may dissolve the Sejm (after consulting the Sejm and Senate marshals) not only when the Sejm has failed to appoint a government within three months or has failed to pass a budget law within three months, but also when the Sejm passes a resolution that makes it impossible for the president to exercise his constitutional powers. According to Article 32, Paragraph 2 of the Constitution, those powers include "overseeing the observance of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland, safeguarding the sovereignty and security of the state, the inviolability of the state and the integrity of its territory, as well as the observance of political and military alliances."

According to Kaczynski, the president rejected the proposal and decided to adopt a different course. Asked about this, Presidential Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski told us that he knew nothing about any telephone calls to the Sejm from Kaczynski.

Delegates Polled on Preferred Political Alliance

AU1303154191 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Mar 91 p 2

['T.R.'-signed report: "An Alliance—But With Whom?"]

[Text] The delegates to the National Conference of Citizens' Committees took part in an spontaneous opinion poll during their deliberations on 10 March 1991, which asked them to indicate their preferred political alliance. The poll results show that the delegates felt most closely bound to "Solidarity" and to the Center Accord and, to a much lesser extent, to the Christian-National Union and the Polish Peasant Party-"Solidarity." Citizen's Movement- Democratic Action and the Democratic Union only received minimal mention, and no delegate contemplated a political alliance with the Polish Socialist Party.

Asked the question—"To which other movement's political program should the Citizens' Committee program be related?"—50.8 percent of the delegates chose the Center Accord; 24.1 percent opted for "Solidarity"; 14.8 percent were for the Christian-National Union; 3.7 percent chose the Democratic Union; 2.8 percent preferred the Liberal-Democratic Congress; 1.9 percent opted for Private Farmer's "Solidarity"; and only 0.9 percent chose Polish Peasant Party-"Solidarity."

Asked to chose a possible running coalition partner for the upcoming election campaign, 46.3 percent chose "Solidarity"; 31.5 percent chose the Center Accord; 7.4 percent chose the Christian- Democratic Union; 6.5 percent chose the Polish Peasant Party-"Solidarity"; and 0.9 percent chose the Liberal-Democratic Congress or the Democratic Union.

The Senate bill on the protection of the unborn child was "emphatically approved" by 49.1 percent of the delegates and "moderately approved" by 22.2 percent. Only 34.3 percent of the delegates were of the opinion that the issue should be included in the citizens' committee political platform.

The conference was attended by 105 delegates who represented 46 various bodies from 39 voivodships. The majority of delegates were male. Of these 61.1 percent had college degrees, and 24.1 had high school degrees. Just over 57 percent of delegates are in managerial positions.

Balcerowicz Receives Poor Poll Rating

AU1403164391 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 11 Mar 91 p 2

["an"-signed report: "Balcerowicz Is Not Liked"]

[Text] More than half of all Poles consider the current economic situation to be bad, and every fourth Pole considers it to be "neither good or bad"—these are the results of a poll conducted in February by the Public Opinion Research Center. This negative assessment of the state of the Polish economy was accompanied by positive predictions about the future: The number of optimists exceeds the combined percentage of pessimists and those who foresee no changes.

The February assessment of the Balcerowicz plan was the worst for 15 months. The plan does not have the support of every third respondent, and only every fifth respondent expressed approval of it. Only 6.4 percent of those polled were in favor of continuing with the plan, 29 percent wanted adjustments to it, and almost half want to seen a new program drawn up.

Two-thirds of the respondents (67.5 percent) were of the opinion that the implementation of the reform program has entailed greater sacrifices than they expected. The prevailing view is that price for the reform is not commensurate with the results that it is producing. Only every fifth Pole believes that the price is worth paying.

It was felt by 42 percent that the reform had had a positive impact on the economy. Every fourth respondent stressed the positive as well as the negative aspects of privatization, and every tenth respondent believed it to be a negative phenomena. Assessments of the rate at which privatization was proceeding followed a similar pattern: slow (41 percent); adequate (30 percent); and too fast (19 percent). Interest in acquiring stock in privatized enterprises, however, is very slight, and only 7.7 percent of Poles intend to invest in stock.

Deputy Defense Minister Outlines Defense Doctrine

LD1303195591 Warsaw PAP in English 1830 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 13—Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski and National Defence Vice-Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz took part in a discussion about Poland's defensive doctrine held at the Sejm (lower house) foreign and national defence committees.

According to Onyszkiewicz, the state's defensive doctrine should be made up of a system of views on security, the ways in which the state should respond to threats and the organization of the state and its armed forces to counteract these threats.

"There are no reasons to be afraid of a conflict on a European scale that would pose a threat to Poland's existence but in the coming future one can expect the possibility of local quarrels or frictions that can be the result of the rise in nationalist tendencies or the destabilization of states in our region. It is exactly in such a direction that our thinking about the army and the defences should go," Onyszkiewicz told journalists.

Onyszkiewicz stressed that contemporary threats to states were linked to economy, ecology, terrorism or big migrations.

Defense Industry Difficulties Outlined

AU1303124291 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA (Economy and Law Section) in Polish 9-10 Mar 91 p 2

[Krzysztof Szczesniak article: "The 'Arms Makers' Want Money"]

[Text] The situation in which our defense industry now finds itself calls to mind the image of a girl who has been abducted only to be later abandoned. Under the old arrangements one could live well on the proceeds of "Special" production. Under the new setup, the state still wants to see tanks, guns, missiles, and aircrafts being produced, but has become so poor that it lacks the funds to pay. The employees of defense industry factories are, of course, in the worst position.

As we reported, a meeting took place at Minister Michal Boni's offices on 15 February during which a time frame was agreed on what should be done in the near future with a view to, in a very general sense, clarifying the position of the defense industry. Yet, even before the deadlines could be kept, the labor minister sent out telexes inviting participants to another meeting that took place on 8 March.

Those attending the meeting were told that the time frame agreed upon in February was based on erroneous assumptions and that this was why it could not be adhered to. Recently, a number of financial estimates, intended to be as accurate as possible, were made and a

new analysis of the situation was commissioned. It turned out that 1.5 billion zlotys [Z] would have to be allocated for offsetting the entire defense industry's losses stemming from the conflict in the Gulf region and the present general demilitarization of policy.

Where should the funds come from? From the state budget of course; however, the budget does not have reserves of that kind at its disposal. Today's reserves total Z600 billions, and they are earmarked for exceptional situations, such as natural disasters, of which there might be quite a number before the end of the year. So, it comes as no surprise that the finance minister does not see any possibility of allocating those sorts of sums for the defense industry.

The second option is to release factories from obligations to pay dividends and income tax. Unfortunately, the budget law does not foresee a possibility of this kind, so the option does not exist. The only possibility would be that of granting a deferral of payment for both dividends and income tax. There was only one case of this kind last year, when the Compact Car Plant received an exemption, because of investments concerning the manufacture of the X1/79 model.

This year, so many applications of this kind have been received from enterprises that it would probably be easier to name those enterprise that have not sought a deferral of payment. In light of this situation, it is almost certain that the finance minister cannot set a precedent. Moreover, it is also felt that in the case of the arms industry in particular, a deferral would simply prolong the agony and would foster futile hopes of a return to old times.

So, what was offered to trade unionists and the arms industry as a whole? According to Wojciech Polec, director of the National Economy Finance Department, Minister Balcerowicz has proposed that everyone should aim at restructuring. If this kind of program has been prepared and submitted, the only thing that every such enterprise can count on is an examination of the possibility of deferring the payment of dividends.

Those attending the meeting were also informed of the talks that are being held on the subject of surplus stocks of equipment that were meant to be sold to Iraq, but were not and are currently waiting for a buyer.

"Solidarity" representatives from Bumar-Labeda, Stalowa Wola, Krasnik and elsewhere did not conceal their dissatisfaction with this turn of events.

They argued that they were already financially stretched to the limit and that every postponement of final decisions was making them sink even further into difficulties.

The government's representatives replied that regrettably certain matters could not be rushed. The Defense Ministry Council had just started operating. The government must examine all the possibilities for future participation in sharing the costs of assets that are frozen for the case of war. In general, a military doctrine must, quite simply, be finally formulated. Do we want a strong Army or not? Can we maintain the Army or not? Will we supply the Army with equipment that we have produced ourselves, or will we buy everything abroad, which would be a cheaper solution?

There are no answers to these questions today, and that is why defense industry plants are very worried. The future is simply uncertain, and the industry no longer wants to hear promises that "things will work out somehow." Michal Boni stated clearly that the government was not reneging on anything that was agreed on 15 February, but that it was only postponing certain deadlines. Time, however, is not on the side of the factories.

Walesa Holds 'Useful' Meeting With Jaruzelski

LD1203155591 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] A meeting between President Lech Walesa and General Wojciech Jaruzelski at the Belweder Palace lasted over an hour and a half. Following this meeting, the President said that it was a visible sign of political culture and a good example of how customs existing in countries with established political traditions are becoming established within our state. General Jaruzelski, on his part, stated that this was a useful exchange of views, an exchange of opinions on important political and economic issues pertaining to Poland. Few important international issues were overlooked. It was an honest and free exchange of views, Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed.

Council of Ministers Meets; TV Programs Proposed

LD1303052191 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 2200 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] At the end of its proceedings, the Council of Ministers worked out a position concerning the bills on trade unions, collective disputes, and employers' organizations. According to the government, the bills—which are to be presented to the Sejm Commission for Social Policy tomorrow—should be treated together in the legislative process.

The last subject of the Council of Ministers' proceedings was the issue of government information policy—in particular, the manner in which government work is presented on television. The government spokesman proposed that within the television program sequence there should be two new programs: "Monitor Rzadowy" ["Government monitor"] during which ministers would reply to viewers' questions, and a program entitled "Konflikt Lub Spiecie" ["Conflict or Clash"], devoted to disputes over important public issues. Marian Terlecki,

chairman of the Radio Committee, took part in the proceedings of the Council of Ministers.

'Obserwator' News Bulletin Not Back On Air

LD1203103191 Warsaw PAP in English 2212 GMT 11 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 11—Despite earlier announcements of its reinstatement, the "Obserwator" (Observer) news bulletin did not go on the air tonight as its editors had not agreed to the TV management's decision to air the programme late at night.

The announcement on the reinstatement of the bulletin followed a bitter dispute of its editorial team with television management over the dismissal of its boss who refused to accept terms offered to him by the new TV head and the following suspension of the programme late last month.

Television bosses maintain they only wanted to strip the bulletin of its special status and include it in the regular structure of other news bulletins, but the "Obserwator" journalists accuse them of "central steering" and attempts to "have full control on the system of information before the parliamentary elections."

The editorial team of the bulletin refused to accept the new timing of the programme and decided to leave television until "the editing of the programme becomes possible."

Even though "Obserwator" was said to be an independent news magazine it is widely believed to have supported former Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki's political groupings.

[Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 0530 GMT on 12 March carries the following announcement, citing ZYCIE WARSZAWY, regarding the "Obserwator" program: "The predictions of those who did not believe in any compromises in the case of this news program have been fulfilled. The program will not return to the air. The reason is the failure to come to an agreement with television management regarding the scheduled time for airing the program. The head of 'Obserwator' has stated that there will be creation of an honorary committee of founders of the daily OBSERWATOR newspaper."]

National Minorities' Council Established

LD1303101391 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] During a meeting of representatives of various minority parties, movements, and organizations in Warsaw, it was decided to set up a National Minorities Council. It is supposed to be a forum for mutual help and for the exchange of information on the problems of national minorities in Poland. The council acknowledges that the present paragraph in the Constitution is not relevant to the needs and aspirations of minorities. As Deputy Wlodzimierz Mokry informed, there are about 1.2 million people of a nationality other than Polish living in Poland. The largest minority, the Ukrainian minority, numbers about 400,000 people.

Last Issue of Government-in-Exile's Paper Printed

LD1203154291 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] The final issue of the organ of the government-in-exile of the Polish Republic, RZECZPOSPOLITA POLSKA monthly, has been printed. The special edition is devoted to the ceremonies of handing over the state insignia of the second republic, which took place at the Royal Castle in Warsaw, together with the texts of the speeches made there. It contains President Ryszard Kaczorowski's final decrees and orders, as well as information from the last premier of the government-in-exile, Professor Edward Stepanik.

Mobile Telephone Network Joint Venture Proposed

AU1203103991 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9-10 Mar 91 p 6

['A.B.'-signed report: "Mobile Telephone Cellnet—Step By Step"]

[Text] The Director General of Polish Post, Telegraph, and Telephones [PPTT], has invited foreign companies to submit detailed tenders to compete to become the foreign partner in the proposed joint venture to develop a mobile telephone cellnet system for Poland. In the period 1-15 March 1991, interested parties can obtain necessary documents and information on the proposed joint venture, as well as the conditions of tender. These documents and information can be purchased at a non-refundable price of 10 million zlotys. Seven applications have been received to date.

Every company that wishes to apply, must submit a completed application form to PPTT accompanied by other necessary documentation at the latest by 1600 on 29 March 1991. The Tender Commission will then consider each submitted application and compile a list of participants by 8 April.

The tendering procedure consists of two stages. The first stage is designed to eliminate all but three possible applicants, and these three companies will go through to the second round. Before this happens, however, applicants will have to prepare and submit a detailed technical and financial dossier for the proposed joint venture. Detailed bids can be submitted by the three preferred applicants right up to 30 April 1991. On that day, the sealed tenders will be opened and each tender package will be assessed according to a specific points system. The three highest scoring tenders will go through to the second round. The second round will be decided by detailed negotiations with the PPTT authorities. These negotiations can only last for a maximum of 30 days.

In this way we will know within several months which foreign company is to be PPTT's foreign joint venture partner in developing a mobile telephone cellnet system for Poland. It is anticipated that a mobile telephone system for Warsaw will be functioning within six months of the joint venture company obtaining official permission.

After 12 months, it is hoped that all large cities will have a mobile telephone network system. Another three years will see the spread of the network to cover approximately 50 percent of the country. Within five years, mobile telephones should be in use throughout the whole of Poland. After five years, it is thought that there will be approximately 100,000 subscribers to the mobile phone network.

Joint Ukrainian 'Permanent' Working Group Formed

AU1103231791 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Mar 91 p 2

['Z.L.'-signed report: "Poland-Ukraine—Parliamentarians Meet"]

[Text] Two Sejm commissions—namely, the National and Ethnic Minorities Commission and the Commission for Contacts With Poles Living Abroad—proposed the establishment of a permanent inter-parliamentary working group on 6 March 1991 that would include People's Deputies from the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine. The aim of such a working group would be to foster the development of good relations between the two nations. During Wednesday's meeting, it transpired that a similar project had been presented in Kiev. Ukrainian parliamentarians who had been invited by the Sejm to attend the inaugural meeting informed the Polish side of this fact.

It was agreed that the two sides would each produce separate agendas in the near future defining the programs and the scope of the future commission's work.

"We must build a solid foundation so that this idea will have a chance of survival beyond our own periods in office in our respective parliaments," said Yuriy Yelchenko, head of the Ukrainian delegation.

"We have to strive and clarify complex historical questions, cooperate in the educational sphere for national minorities, address the problem of religious freedom, and exchange the fullest information to shed light on the most difficult points between our two nations. Our initiative can set a precedent for solving many intractable issues in the future. With the support of the Sejm presidium, we shall seek to influence the government's policy that touches on Polish-Ukrainian relations so decisions in this sphere are the most favorable that can be obtained," stated Deputy Jerzy Wuttke, head of the Sejm's Minorities Commission.

Ukrainian Peoples' Deputy Oleg Shevchenko, informed the gathering that there is an ongoing process in the Ukraine to return places of worship to their respective religious groups and during the last three years 210 churches have been reopened. Ukrainian authorities have also decided to allocate financial resources to provide for the teaching of Polish subjects among the Polish minority. In general, the provision of such teaching is more expensive.

The Polish side of the working group consists of Deputies Mokry, Norbert, Rusakiewicz, and Zurawiecki.

PNT-cd's Coposu Gives Speech to Party Members

AU1303111691 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 6 Mar 91 p 3

[Speech by Mr. Corneliu Coposu, president of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party; place and date not given: "Our Party Is an Important Factor for Romania's Democratic Institutions"]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, dear friends: I would like to present a succinct outline of the immediate objectives of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNT-cd] as stipulated in our domestic and foreign policy program.

In the area of domestic policy, our party is the constant promoter of the principles of Romania's sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity. Our constant struggle for sovereignty; for protecting our national patrimony; for emancipation from tendencies of oppression, fettering, and moral, military, or political pressure; and against all unjust tendencies of harming our borders or subjugating Romanian interests to tendencies that are inimical to our own interests has been waged continuously.

As far as the situation of the Romanians in Bessarabia and North Bukovina is concerned, we view the Moldavians in those provinces as Romanians.

We are determined to observe international conventions and accords which are binding on us. We have no aggressive intentions or reticence toward our great neighbor in the East with whom we have to maintain good-neighborly relations. We hope that the strengthening of the theses on liberalization and of the principles given concrete shape by the perestroyka and glasnost, and the beneficial development of the concepts linked to the right to self- determination in the awareness of all people will make it possible for all peoples to freely and unrestrictedly express their option which is so decisive for their future.

Policy and Foreign Relations

As for our foreign relations, we were the first ones to struggle for our reintegration into Europe from which we were separated for 43 years of communist dictatorship that promoted the isolation determined by the "iron curtain." We are now trying to break with the ideology imposed by that curtain. Although the borders between countries have partially become symbolic, unfortunately the retrograde concepts of the Stalinist domination continue to persist. We have tried to be the pioneers of links with the West—and been successful—something the authorities are now trying to do, without great success; we were able to resume close political relations with all democratic political parties in the West. Our European integration took place before that of the government. We have established ties with the Christian-democratic parties in Europe. We maintain close relations with the Western ruling parties. We have relations with the Christian-democratic parties in South America, Asia, and even Africa. (Today there are seven Christian-democratic parties in Black Africa) As for our relations with foreign governments, I have to say that we enjoy the appreciation of Western democratic governments in the main big states in which we made efforts and succeeded in improving the image of our country, which had deteriorated because of the serious errors made by the political power. We have ties with the Christian- Democratic and people's parties in Italy, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, France, Greece, Hungary, and of late with five parties in Eastern Europe—the Polish Christian Democratic Party, the Czech and Slovak Christian-Democratic Parties, the Ukrainian Christian-Democratic Party, and the Christian-Democratic Party of Belorussia, which we have invited to participate in our future congress.

In connection with the prestige our party enjoys due to the fact that it has pursued a firm and unyielding policy and that it has constantly promoted the traditional principles of our country, we have received an invitation to visit Moscow. Our party that is being attacked, slandered, and booed at home enjoys a prestige that exceeds the one enjoyed by the current political power and other formations in civilized Europe and—I may say—in the rest of the world.

Our foreign policy concept makes us promote cooperation with the countries, which support us in the construction of Greater Romania. We are for friendly relations with all democratic countries and flawless cooperation with all our neighbors. The differences caused by past history or by a certain territorial competition have to cease. We pursue the reestablishment of amicable relations with Hungary whose authorities have publicly renounced revisionist ideas. Through the visit I paid at the invitation of the Hungarian Democratic Forum—which is the current government in Hungary—we succeeded in establishing positive relations with our neighbors. On behalf of the main political parties of Hungary, we ensured that they observe our country's borders and recognize our right over Transylvania, without contesting it in any way, and our right to deal with the ties with the Hungarian minority in Transylvania ourselves. I believe we have taken a step forward in lessening certain undesired tensions. Our integration into the Europe of tomorrow is linked to the respect of human rights, the quenching of all domestic conflicts, the elimination of any competitions between ethnic groups in our country, and to the granting of freedoms for all citizens in our country.

Economic Policy Principles. Details on the PNT-cd Position on the Land Law

Our program foresees private ownership and we firmly support it. We are for the sacrosanctity of private ownership in all areas. Recently, when the law was under discussion, we stated our position favoring the privatization of agriculture. As early as January 1990 we

demanded that the first law that was drafted should be the law returning lands to the farmers. We are against the preservation of state ownership over lands integrated in state agricultural enterprises. We agree that areas for the cultivation of quality seeds, experimental lands, and areas for growing plants for industrial purposes have to be maintained to ensure the progress of agriculture model-farms. Our experts have reached the conclusion that all that is required are 900,000 hectares that could be under state control during a transition period; however, the tendency of the Land Law is to maintain state ownership over considerably large agricultural lands. This tendency does not have economic, but political objectives. Our government does not want to renounce Marxist-Leninist concepts and the principles derived from dialectical materialism that it tries to infiltrate directly into the law it passes. What is pursued is state control—that is, the control of the ruling party over the largest possible tillable agricultural lands. Without any objective justification, the provisional administration structure, which was instituted after the revolution, was recently replaced by another provisional structure. The appointment of certain mayors by prefects of the National Salvation Front [FSN] was legalized. The FSN wanted to participate—through its representatives—in the application of the Land Law to exert moral pressure and intimidate the farmers for election purposes. We demanded that the commissions in charge of the application of the Land Law be elected by the village people. This was rejected. Our draft law on pensions for cooperative farmers was also rejected. All the efforts made by our parliamentarians to amend—through viable dispositions expected by the farmers—the dispositions provided for in the government draft of the Land Law were also rejected. We are dissatisfied with this law and we have announced that if there is an opportunity, we will amend it in favor of the farmers' interests. The law—in the form in which it was passed—does not meet the expectations of the farmers and does not exhaust the state's obligations toward the social category of the owners and exploiters of agricultural lands. The law even failed to address within it agricultural specialists such as agronomists, agrarian engineers, veterinaries, zootechnical personnel, gardeners, agricultural mechanizers. This category of employees had a hostile attitude toward us in the election campaign and instigated the electorate against us out of an absurd fear of unemployment. We do not judge our country's basic problems from an angle of resentments, but believe that these specialists have to have their own plots of land to have the opportunity to create farms that may serve as an example for the farmers who will be given back their properties. After decades of collectivization, our farmers have lost—to a great extent—their ability to cultivate the land rationally and efficiently; therefore, we promote the idea that these agricultural specialists should be given plots of land to work them rationally, thus offering models of prosperous and profitable agriculture.

Finally, regarding the Land Law we have some reservations in connection with the state's preemptive right to transfer agricultural property, to let the political authorities make decisions, and to assess the level of agricultural exploitations; we contest the authority of the political bodies in villages—an aberrant authority—to withdraw the exploitation right of those owners whose agricultural crops do not meet—on the basis of subjective assessments—the requirements of production controllers. There are numerous other reasons that make us say that this law does not meet all the needs of our farmers. Consequently, our parliamentarians have abstained from endorsing it. I have dealt with this subject at some length because the Land Law is of great topicality and its abusive and preferential application could lead to dangerous discontent.

We Have an Alternative for an Effective Future Government

Returning to the subject of ownership, we are for the sanctity of private ownership in all areas. We are for the complete return of all properties confiscated in an abusive way by the communist dictatorship. We are for the complete privatization of business. We are for the complete privatization of industry, stage by stage, keeping state control only over enterprises that are of major importance for national defense or over those enterprises that have the state as their sole end-user.

It goes without saying that one cannot switch to a market economy right away, especially because Romania was the country that went through the most ferocious collectivization process. Our private ownership index was the lowest in the world. We are not so dense that we do not realize that one cannot switch from this aberrant nationalization to a market economy overnight and that certain stages of privatization have to be observed. In principle, however, we are for a total privatization by stages and for a very rapid transition to a market economy. As far as our programs are concerned, we have printed explanatory pamphlets. Our research people are studying and publicizing our concepts in all areas and sectors of activity. By setting up doctrinal and functional departments we have organized an alternative for a future effective government.

The absurd idea was spread that the current government consists of 'unique' people. This affirmation is a tactless gesture toward the Romanian people. We do not accept the idea that the members of the government departments, whose competence we do not deny, are unique people in our country; that there are not any other people capable of fulfilling their tasks at least as well. We believe that we have much better economists within our party than those belonging to the government; we have lawyers of great professional competence, people dealing with economic policy, researchers, highly competent academicians, specialists on questions of labor, social security, ecology, transportation, education, and culture, that is, people who could form a better team than the one that is in power. We believe that the groundless and demoralizing affirmation about the monopoly on competence assumed by the 'unique' people in the government is

contradicted primarily by the alarming fact that today all of us, that is Romania, is going through a crisis that is bringing us close to economic disaster, with no solution in sight.

According to competent experts, our country needs some $20 billion worth of investments to begin the economic restructuring process, and these investments have to come from somewhere. They can come only from private ownership. However, these private owners will not risk their capital as long as they do not have confidence in the government and as long as we do not have a stable and credible government. Stability and credibility are compulsory conditions for our integration into the economic flow of Europe. The investments that have been made so far are insignificant compared with the pressing needs of our economy.

Almost all our industrial assets are worn out. With painful surprise we noted that even the investments made in the past 10 years at a price matching the latest innovations suffered from depreciation the moment they were made. Fortunately, our human reserves are by no means of a lesser quality that those in the West. I would even venture to say that our workers, technicians, and specialists are above the average European level; however, our production cannot compete with the West if our equipment is totally inadequate. This gap is yet another factor that makes us realize how criminal the communist dictatorship was that caused it. Yet we believe that since the Romanian people knew how to leap over 60 years of backwardness in 1866, they will be able to do so now and catch up with the West if proper conditions for democratization and privatization are created and if we succeed in achieving a high level of economic restructuring.

The Domestic Policy and Relations Promoted by the PNT-cd

Now a few words about our domestic policy and relations. We are determined to refuse to cooperate with the FSN. In this respect we differ from other opposition parties, which are seeking, by all means, to get involved in governing. We cannot assume—not even partially—responsibility for all the catastrophic mistakes made by those who hijacked power after the revolution. Furthermore, we cannot tolerate the idea that a government team that has failed the test of competence should improve its performance as a result of the contribution of opposition representatives.

We expressed our readiness to cooperate with all political or apolitical opposition groups, student leagues, trade unions, and all those who want to take the country out of the current impasse. We have no ambitions. We do not think that others should be held responsible for the government's mistakes. In the current difficult period, we believe that the primary goal is to forestall the tendencies of establishing a new totalitarianism. If we do not prevent the installation of a cryptocommunism, our programs and doctrines will remain inoperative. To implement our doctrine, it is necessary to unite our efforts in raising an insurmountable obstacle to totalitarian trends and ensuring a democratic framework for our political life. Once we ensure this framework, we can start our competition for the public's favor, by asking the Romanian people to chose the most appropriate program for their needs and aspirations.

To attain this target, we advocated the creation of a united forum of the opposition as far back as January 1990. We failed in this endeavor. We suggested the presentation of joint lists in the elections. This proposal was also turned down. We suggested a single nonparty candidate for the presidential elections, a candidate that would be supported by the entire opposition. This proposals was also rejected. We suggested our withdrawal from the elections, at a time when the political power was resorting to unprecedented violence and reprehensible acts of intimidation, slander, and systematic lies to bar our access to the villages, thus turning the electoral campaign into a kind of civil war. To these effects of the electoral campaign, which prejudiced apriori the election results, one should add the various irregularities, fraud, and falsehoods of the elections proper, which together led to a result that even the organizers of these abuses considered as being embarrassing for the very people who stood to gain from them. Then we suggested a boycott of Parliament, which we consider as unlawful and nonrepresentative. We failed in this endeavor, as well. We believe that the main guilt of those who lay their hands on power is that they prolonged the Marxist methods and concepts, despite past and present statements to the contrary. Given the way in which our and the whole opposition's proposals are listened to—or better said not listened to—in Parliament, we believe that the extraparliamentary opposition is the one to play a key role at this time. The law on the land stock and the majority of the laws passed by Parliament reflect, to a greater or lesser extent, the government's desire to maintain strict control over the national economy and the population. The amendments proposed by the opposition were almost completely ignored. That is why we believe that the extraparliamentary opposition is the only efficient opposition with a real chance of exerting moral and constructive pressures. Faithful to our principles, we maintain that the opposition should be nonviolent; it should refrain from personal attacks, should not use violence, and should not let itself be tempted by the methods of incitement, Stalinist intimidation, calumny used by the current political power.

On 1 July 1990 I launched—in behalf of our party—an appeal to the creation of a forum of all opposition parties, apolitical groups, student leagues, trade unions, and various groups of intellectuals. I launched this appeal from abroad. After my return home—at the GDS's [Group for Social Dialogue's] suggestion, which we considered as wise—we decided to renounce launching this appeal on behalf of a given party and political doctrine, to defuse certain shows of reticence from others. We conceded the initiative to launch this

appeal to an independent body to also ensure the endorsement of those people who have reservations about political groups. The GDS took over the initiative. The efforts made by the GDS representatives to unite the opposition remained fruitless, hence they had to be given up. As a result of certain well-meant initiatives, however, 40 antitotalitarian forums were set up in all the country's counties. Under their moral pressure and as an outcome of the interest shown by conscientious Romanians from outside the political parties in having a united opposition, certain parties with initial reservations toward this idea agreed to participate in a convention for the establishment of democracy. We hope that this formula will not be short lived.

In the meantime, the Civic Alliance emerged. When all its leaders made public their stated principles and goals, we considered it necessary to support this alliance and encouraged our members to join it, on an individual basis. The Civic Alliance solemnly declared that it does not intend to become a political party, but that it wants to act as a liaison point and a catalyst for all opposition organizations. Consequently, we support the Civic Alliance.

Regarding our relations with the parties we are cooperating with, I can say that we maintain good relations with them as well as with all groups that are sincerely engaged in an honest and civilized political struggle to promote Romanian interests and save the democratic principles.

Regarding the general situation in the country, the reports received from our county organizations indicate that there is a beginning of an awakening on the part of public opinion. The people, who in their naivete were deceived by the demagogic measures taken by the government, have begun to wake up from the confusion created by organized lies and are now realizing that they have been the victim of an unparalleled fraud. They now realize that they will have to face a new period of harsh misery, cold, hunger, and destabilization, because of the fault of a group of ambitious people clinging to power. I do not know what direction will be preferred by those who were duped by the FSN. Anyway, in the rural areas, where we have been prevented from penetrating until now, one can see a change in the mentality of the people, who have been manipulated thus far, a change that we hope will turn to our benefit. As a matter of fact, the government party itself is threatened by scission; it is only fused together by material interests.

Monarchy or Republic?

Concerning the problem of constitutional arrangements, we maintain our viewpoint officially announced as far back as seven months ago. We consider the 30 December 1947 abdication of King Mihai as an illegal act brought about by blackmail, threats, and abuse, an act not sanctioned by the Romanian people. The abdication was extorted from him through serious pressures of a military nature and by the threat to kill 1,000 hostage students who had been arrested the previous day, if the king refused to sign the act. There was also the threat of a civil war-like confrontation. Consequently, we consider the abdication as devoid of any kind of legitimacy; hence, it can only be null and void.

As a democratic party faithful to the people's choice, as far back as February 1990 we asked that, before a constitution is adopted, the Romanian people should be consulted on the form of government it wants to opt for. There are several constitutional solutions with which our people are not sufficiently familiar. We have had the tradition of a constitutional monarchy. In the civilized countries of the world, there is also the institution of the parliamentary republic and the presidential republic, with basic differences regarding the distribution of rights and powers in the state. We have officially stated that we will be faithful to the people's choice. If the people want a monarchy, we, given our monarchic tradition, will respect the people's choice. If the choice is for the republic, then we have to choose the type of republic most suitable for the situation in our country. In the absence of a mandate from the public, nobody has the right to decide the future of our basic institutions.

Of course, there is an abusive trend toward installing a kind of presidential republic, as one can see from the legislative documents brought before the Parliament. Even if the choice is the republican form, we believe that, in the current situation in Romania, the formula of a presidential republic is totally unacceptable, because it would involve the risk of sliding toward dictatorship. We must preserve the Romanian people's freedoms and rights and defend them from the attempts of some people with autocratic ambitions to limit or violate them. This is the reason why we categorically reject the idea of a presidential republic.

After having been intoxicated for 43 years with a history falsified by omissions and distortions, the Romanian people are now—through no fault of their own—in a position of not knowing their own history; hence, they cannot pronounce themselves on such a capital issue before they know the whole truth and before they have been taught the truth that has been kept hidden from them. Therefore, the referendum will have to be organized by an independent and neutral government, which can guarantee conditions of full objectivity.

Romania Is Going Through a Political, Economic, Social, and Moral Crisis

I cannot leave unmentioned the tragedy currently unfolding before our very eyes and endangering the immediate future of this country faced with so many vicissitudes: the hemorrhage of young Romanian energies and intelligence, which is causing serious concern to all conscientious people. Hundreds of thousands of people who have lost hope in their future prospects, in the country's recovery, and in an era of stability, have moved to the West, expatriating themselves in their search for a sure existence, free of the threat of misery, injustice, and totalitarianism. We have the patriotic hope that these reliable people will return from the Diaspora once our domestic situation begins to normalize.

Regarding out attitude toward the political power, we contest the government's ability to solve the political, economic, social, and moral crisis our country is going through.

We do not feel the Parliament is representative. We believe the situation can only be normalized with the participation of all citizens united in their firm desire to bring about a national recovery, with the contribution of the free trade unions and through the concerted efforts of honest political groups and of independent alliances, associations, and leagues.

We are working to achieve complete equality among all the citizens of our country, regardless of language, religion, and social status. We are for guaranteeing the proper rights and freedoms of the ethnic minorities. We aim at the creation of democratic institutions and the transition to a market economy. We demand an immediate end to all incitement to interethnic and interconfessional confrontation. We condemn all attempts to set various social categories at loggerheads, all incitement to hatred, and all campaigns of intimidation and denigration. We condemn those cesspools and commandos that practice violence, xenophobia, chauvinism, anti-Semitism, and all kinds of antagonisms. We firmly support the just claims of the trade unions and we support the noble ideals of the university youth.

The Activity Within the PNT-cd

Regarding the political activity within our party, the leadership has tried its best to disseminate the party's program and initiatives, in spite of the atmosphere of constraint, violence, calumny, disinformation, and moral pressure in which it had to act. Our first target was to survive. Second, we tried to organize ourselves and succeeded, at least partially. Within the framework of this organizational effort, we promoted people from the middle and young generation to responsible positions. We must rejuvenate the party's cadres and make room for the generations that have not yet had the opportunity to prove themselves in the decades of communist dictatorship. Unfortunately, because of the fraudulent elections, we lost the opportunity to check the competence, talent, and organizational spirit of the new adherents, selected on the basis of criteria of competence and integrity to Parliament. Only an extremely small number of our party's members were allowed by the political power to enter Parliament. As a result, the platform for the validation of these generations, which tomorrow will take over the government and the party's leadership, was insufficient. We tried, with our modest means, to facilitate the assertion of the organizational spirit, talent, and energy of the people from the middle and young generation. We even tried, through co-opting, to introduce young people into the party's leadership, since they are our hope for the future. We now have 15 young people under the age of 35 in the party's steering committee. We hope that their number will increase. The leadership has been reproached for favoring the gerontocracy, but it would be a mistake to believe this accusation. Please believe me that both I, personally, and all my older friends—survivors of the communist jails, who, aware of our responsibility for our party's future, refused to recognize its dismantlement by the Soviet armies in 1947, did our best to ensure its continuity in illegality, and, with the triumph of the anticommunist revolution, set it up again—are ready to graciously hand over the leadership, once people prepared to assume the responsibility of leadership can be found. Our party must not die. Its glorious past requires that it should not just survive, but also become a leading factor for our future democratic institutions. Our party enjoys unique prestige—compared with other parties in Romania—at home and throughout the West. This is due to its tradition, activity, and program. In keeping with this program and tradition and by taking constructive steps, we hope to integrate, as soon as possible, the middle and young generations in the highest echelons of the party leadership. The goal for which we have resolutely and consistently worked for decades on end is to be able to transfer, with our minds at peace, the party's banner—crowned by the glorious struggle for truth and democracy—into the vigorous hands of our young political friends, who, inspired by patriotism and the spirit of Christian morality, should score, under this very banner, results that are worthy of Romania's history.

Roman's 'State of the Nation Report' Continues

AU1303104191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0931 GMT 13 Mar 91

["Part 12" of "State of the Nation Report" by Prime Minister Petre Roman to Parliament on 26 February]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 13/3/1991—**The Economy Should Be Refloated**

I have shown above what the government firmly pledges to undertake. I would like to end by saying what we cannot pledge to do.

Delimitation from communist structures cannot be purely formal, declarative. It must be straightforward. In everyday life there are people in administration, in departments whose interests and mentality are still linked to the old communist ways. They are still trying to spread a nostalgia for those ways. There used to be more social discipline, work discipline, that is what they say. If we are oblivious of the frightful lack of freedom, let us only take this aspect of discipline. There was discipline, or something that went by that name, yes, but at what cost? And for what?

The omnipresent party apparatus had just one aim: Never to let the dictator's arbitrary will be challenged. And there were many in that apparatus who took advantage of their full obedience to get privileges of all kind.

Well, we are demolishing these privileges in the society we are building. And yet, this is a hard thing to do, partly because something must be put instead in many cases, and partly because change is impossible with the same people.

There is only one class of people we have not the right to part with: Honest people. These people, I am sure, cannot be seen otherwise than for what they really are: Honest people who are not after privileges.

There is in some people a nostalgia for a hard line of the government, of power. We are obviously against administrative coercion, which is against the freedom of action of enterprises.

Enterprises, as commercial companies that acceded to autonomy, may exist or not, have or not a place on the market internal or external.

A good many critical positions were taken, and many were of ill faith, in order to sow confusion and increase the population's concern. Without arguments, unfounded, charges and accusations are made against government action, for its end and demolition.

Take, for instance, privatisation: It is under way, but as a step-wise process that takes care of the existing social capital, to protect what the people has painstakingly built of late. Who would take over, on strict profit-making criteria, large industries that are in trouble now?

This government clearly intends to make a reasonable step-by-step approach to take the economy out of the deadlock, to give it a chance to renovate large sectors of its industry and agriculture.

This government policy is not to replace Ceausescu's one-man dictatorship by a nostalgic late-sixties socialism. That is precisely why the government cannot keep all the unprofitable economy as a foster child and at the same time ask Parliament to adopt laws for a competitive economy.

Parliament, public opinion in Romania must realise that the government is determined to continue along the trail blazed by Law No. 15/1990, but we do not mean this advancement to be purely formal; our own dignity prevents us from deceiving ourselves and deceiving others.

A turn will be made in investment, which is to be dramatically reduced from 150.8 billion lei in 1990, of which 68.3 billion lei in construction-assembly, to 34.7 billion lei in 1991, to be financed from the state budget, and another 10.8 billion lei to be financed from local budgets. Yes, the state budget, which includes incomes from taxes on the activity of enterprises and on individual incomes, can no longer allot funds for investment that is not realized; of the 86 important units to be built in 1990, 58 are integrally due. By virtue of which right should the government continue to throw money away? What kind of a market economy could we achieve if autonomous units, departments and some trade unions ask the government to guarantee that the investment, whose profitability cannot be proved, must be financed directly by the government or that the government should guarantee its financing? This is a risk the government cannot assume.

There will be a major confrontation in the Romanian society this year owing to the liberalization of prices. The government is accused of communism precisely by those who deny the right to crush the communist structures in the economy. Law 15/1990 is denied, lower prices are demanded in conditions in which productivity drops, even in the case of small physical productions. The alternative: To revert to centralized planning, to the planning of shortages. No, ladies and gentlemen, this government cannot assume such a move.

The liberalization of prices should be complete because this is an economy that should revive. As a matter of fact, does the liberalization of prices mean anything but the reflex for competition and the concern for efficiency? So far, it was mainly the economic agents who proved an understanding of the fact that the market prices should reflect the demand-and-offer ratio. In exchange, commercial companies often understood that prices should be negotiated not with the consumers but between producers, so that they grossly violated Law 15/1990 through price cartels. The government cannot accept such a mode of perception, which is detrimental to both the consumers and the producers, even if the latter fail to immediately see the negative effects.

Material resources this year are smaller because the domestic raw materials production dropped, because currency resources are lower which is serious if we think that now the former CMEA member countries, too, settle their accounts in convertible currency. The state will benefit only from 50 percent of export earnings, as the remaining 50 percent will go to the enterprises making them. And, while demanding their share of the earnings, economic agents also want that the state should cover requirements at least at the level of 1990, from its 50 percent. The government, however, cannot make convertible currency, the way it does not intend to make its own coins.

Now enterprises are desperately demanding a centralized, planned allocation of currency for imports currency which does not exist in conditions in which we have entered this year with liabilities for previous imports worth roughly one billion dollars. In exchange, 700 million dollars in credit lines opened for investment lie idle for lack of commitment on the part of Romanian contractors and the international banking, financial and commercial community wonders whether Romanian enterprises are sincerely interested in investment.

The reproving remarks leveled at the government and the ministries, in the sense that the latter continue to manage enterprises, are partly true precisely because the enterprises, which legally acquired their independence, did not make a full, definitive break with the old dogma

of the "autonomy of the economy," which the last years of communism in Romania had inoculated. There are still numerous practices whereby the enterprises ask the government to mete out materials, to deblock their links with the banks, a reflex of the conservatism, the mentality and the system of administrative and uneconomical relations. Their maintenance is the symptom of the illness of the economy which should be ended by both ministries and enterprises.

By definition, the economy we are aiming at is based on association of forces the government-trade unions-employers local administration but at present the tendency to summon the government is prevalent; however, the government cannot offer miraculous solutions because miracles do not exist.

On the economic plane, the government opened ways to support the reform and the Romanian economy by the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the EEC, the Group of 24 and the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] Programme, numerous governments and banks, which offered economic and financial assistance. Which, however, inherently depends on attachment to the ideas of the reform, to privatization, to free prices and a free market.

That is why, we cannot separate external strategy from the pace and scope of the implementation of the reform on an internal plane.

We all understand that the hard part of the reform is the part the people and we think of those who work, not of those who do not work have to carry on their shoulders.

And we can expect no one to understand and accept this hard part unless we tell everything we know and everything we computed, therefore truth accompanied by science.

We must admit that the truth about the economic state in the country is differently perceived. Which is but natural in such a complex process.

As natural is the fact that no democratic government and no governmental political movement can exist outside the people's will.

Which means that the people's accepting the consequences of the government's reform policy, especially the rapid and rough character of its programme of measures, is a preliminary condition.

The reform government must cross a desert under merciless, well- grounded or ungrounded critical remarks, lies, calumny, demagogy and opportunism, without having the vital resources to maintain its own balance. Because in such a period the people's support and credit erode inevitably, the mirage of easier solutions, which are considered wiser, gets more and more insistent.

Given this restructuring of the Romanian society, which is compulsory but certainly serious, the need for a new credibility, for a government reasserting itself at the moment the decisive stage begins, should not be overlooked.

We the current government, are fully committed and unhesitatingly attached to the promotion of the reform. Consequently, we must assume its costs. And this concerted action including decision, resolution and responsibility clarifies any question marks and speculations.

We must fight to take the economy out of the crisis and, with bona fide, we say maybe the time has come to adopt another government formula. In both situations what matters is the courage to confront the difficult parts so that we may fulfil our sacred duty to the country.

People Seen Responsible for Country's Future

AU1303144991 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 8 Mar 91 p 1

[Roxana Iordache article: "The Americans Are Not Going To Come!"]

[Excerpts] During the time in which communism was ruthlessly sweeping over Romania, our grandparents were still hoping: "The Americans are going to come." The young people of the bloody revolt of 16-21 December no longer harbor this illusion. If, against all reason—although this is rather unlikely—the great powers once again contemplate negotiating Romania, assigning it to the same—or another—sphere of influence, as some well-known propaganda tries to insinuate to confine the Romanian people to resignation, it is good to know that the time for such stories has passed. Furthermore, the possible insinuation about our fate being preestablished for us at the table of I do not know what Malta negotiations can only make the Romanian people turn toward their innermost self to meditate and become better acquainted with themselves. Our country can be treated like a "poor relation" only if it does not give a sign that it deserves to be treated differently. [passage omitted]

Our fate will change for sure the moment we all understand that since December 1989—when we finally woke up from our deadly sleep—the happy time has come for us to build a different destiny. We will prosper and earn the respect of Europe the moment we will demonstrate that we understand that Romania's future depends on ourselves alone—particularly on the young people in this country—and no one will dare make any decisions for us.

It is a good and patient country, it is our country, and it expects us—within today's and tomorrow's boundaries—to devote our minds, all our work, and all our love and faith to it.

Liberal Party Youth Wing on Necessity of Dialogue

AU1303192591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1836 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 13/3/1991—The representatives of the National Liberal Party Young Wing participated in the meeting at the Romanian presidency, together with all the political formations represented in Parliament, aware of the responsibilities incumbent upon a modern political party—reads a communique signed by the party's steering committee. "We are true to our conviction that politics is dialogue, even if positions are antagonistic, and that nothing can be solved through abstention from participation" says the communique. "We believe Romanian society is too troubled and disunited to allow for violent confrontation that yields no solutions, irrespective of the political bias."

The communique goes on to show that "one must fight the errors made by those in power through pragmatic and realistic arguments. (...) the executive does not understand that we are not simply crossing an economic crisis inherited from the former regime, but a grave psycho-social one, manifest firstly in the lack of motivation for work, and that this motivation latter can be obtained by recreating the sense of property in each individual."

Iliescu Visits Cluj County Workers, Officials

AU1303192191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1844 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 13/3/1991—Now on a visit to Cluj President Ion Iliescu met on Wednesday with students and teaching staff of the Mechanics and Machine Building Faculty. On the occasion, analysis was made of issues concerning the implementation of the research programmes, the building of a university campus, the possibility of training students abroad, among other things. The rector of the Polytechnic Institute, Professor Horea Colan, presented aspects of the activity of that institute with over 8,000 students. The Romanian head of state referred to the current difficult moment for Romania from an economic point of view and characterized the second stage of price liberalization as a necessary process. The market economy, he said, has qualities but also shortcomings which we should know how to avoid.

Mr. Iliescu also visited the "Iris S.A." enterprise specialized in glassware and porcelain.

On the same day the Romanian president met with Academician David Prodan, author of the well-known "History of Transylvania," at the latter's residence, on his 89th birthday.

During an interview President Iliescu had with actors and stage managers of the Cluj National Theatre analysis was made of specific issues.

At the end of his visit to Cluj, President Ion Iliescu held talks at the prefecture's headquarters with representatives of political formations, with mayors of municipalities and towns in that county. Absent from that meeting were representatives of the National Liberal Party, National Christian-Democratic Peasant Party and the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania.

The speakers presented the concerns for the materialization in a state of law of the principles and stipulations of the reform at the same time with the social security demanded by the market economy as well as the difficulties still existing in privatization process. Emphasis was also placed on concrete aspects concerning the application of the land law, as well as on the necessity to extend the period within which those entitled to regain possession of the land could file their application. At the same time approach was made of issues concerning the moral improvement of the society, especially by fighting more firmly against corruption and black market activity.

In his address, President Ion Iliescu emphasised the importance and usefulness of the dialogue, of the exchange of ideas as an element of improving the political and social climate, underscoring that this year's main problems would be economic and their settlement needed the country's stability. Mr. Ion Iliescu appealed to all creative capacities of the Romanian people to take responsible part in the efforts for Romania's reconstruction, for getting out of the deadlock we are in.

'Concern' Voiced Over Troop Deployment in Moldova

AU1303231291 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Statement by Foreign Ministry Spokesman Traian Chebeleu issued in Bucharest on 13 March—recorded]

[Text] Romania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs expresses concern over news coming from the Republic of Moldova about the deployment of additional troops there. The statement made by the spokesman of the president of the Republic of Moldova indicates that the aim of these measures is to oblige Moldova's citizens to participate, against their will, in the 16-17 March Union referendum.

As shown by developments in all countries in the eastern part of the continent, the resort to force, particularly to military force, is not conducive to solving the social, economic, and other problems inherited from the totalitarian regimes, problems that are faced by all the states in the region.

There is no reason to believe that things are different in the Republic of Moldova and that military solutions might defeat the population's aspirations for democracy and for the full exertion of their sovereign prerogatives.

Romania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs hopes that the central authorities will take into consideration the desire of the citizens of the Republic of Moldova, will show moderation, and will opt for dialogue and political arguments in the search for a constructive solution to all problems, to ensure order and the continuation of democratic processes in that Republic, in accordance with the provisions of the CSCE documents and the new developments in Europe.

'Open Sky' Negotiations With Hungary End

AU1303195991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1922 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 13/3/1991—The final session of the meeting of experts of the Foreign Affairs Ministries of Romania and Hungary was held in Bucharest on 12 and 13 March with the participation of military experts to work out a bilateral agreement establishing an "Open Sky" regime in the two countries.

This measures is part and parcel of the package of proposals the Romanian party set forth to the Hungarian party to the end of building up confidence, developing cooperation and promoting good neighbourhood relations.

The agreement regulates the possibility of annual observation flights by unarmed aircraft in conditions agreed upon so that each party may convince itself that the armed forces and the military activities of the other state pose no threat.

Roman Meets Brazil's President, Other Officials

AU1303142991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1241 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 13/3/1991—Tuesday morning, 12 March, Prime Minister Petre Roman met and had talks with Brazil's President Fernando Collor.

The interview between the Romanian head of government and the Brazilian head of state was preceded by the reception ceremony in front of the Presidential Palace, of which the national anthems of the two countries and the military honours were a part.

The interview started with a tete-a-tete and continued with the enlarged team of both sides' officials.

Prime Minister Roman was assisted by minister of resources and industry Mihai Zisu, senator Ion Solcanu, deputy Ionel Blaga, Romanian National Bank Deputy Governor Emil Ghizarie, Foreign Ministry Under-Secretary Teodor Melescanu, Romanian Ambassador to Brazil Marin Iliescu.

The Romanian side appreciated the talks as very useful and, together with their Brazilian counterparts, president, foreign minister and other ministers, examined matters regarding the effective capitalisation of existing possibilities in the two countries' economy, science, education, culture, environmental protection.

We have every reason to believe that a good relationship can be established between a country like ours, Romania, and a continent like your country is, told Prime Minister Roman to President Collor. President Collor in his turn, while sharing the Romanians' wish and belief that Romania and Brazil have ample opportunity to cooperate, stressed the importance that should be given to communication, meaning not only conveyance of information but also keeping alive political, diplomatic, economic and cultural dialogue.

The delegations reviewed the sectors most apt for immediate action, among them and with a high degree of certitude being the supply of iron ore to Romania to fully meet its demands, participation of the Brazilian side in the Romanian steel industry, Romanian assistance in the modernisation of Brazilian railroad system, collaboration in aviation, in the farm machinery, tractors, utility cars industries.

Invited to describe his interview with Brazil's president, Prime Minister Roman stated:

"It has been a meeting between two men who instantly responded to each other's expectation. This is my impression and the president himself put it in such terms, which obviously pleased me. He said we are politicians of the same generation, who cherish the same dreams, therefore have the same projects in mind which they wish translated into political facts and consequently have the determination to do it.

To come to the point, as far as the relations between Romania and Brazil are concerned, subsequent to our talks, President Collor decided that his government should take concrete steps to set in motion various cooperation projects and expressly requested that the quality and volume of various activities, economic commercial, scientific, cultural and others, should be enhanced, for which purpose an intensive exchange of personalities between Bucharest and Brasilia will be fostered.

President Collor showed readiness to send such missions to Bucharest as soon as possible for them to find out first hand what opportunities there are that might interest them. He also gave a positive and straight answer as to his visit to Romania, possibly this year.

And another aspect that brings us near is our interest in everything related to ecological integration. I could see how the hydropower system at Itaipu was perfectly integrated into the environment. Personally, I must confess this is the first construction of this type which I find in perfect compatibility with its environment. The team working on this project, including tens of thousands of people, upturned an area that is now a flourishing farming zone. Speaking of ecology, I suggested President Collor to associate to an extensive project I have proposed in connection with the Danube and its

Delta. It is a complex project about which I had the opportunity to talk at length with the executive director of the World Conference for Development and Environment, to hold its next session in Brazil, when President Collor intends to plead for laying the foundations of international agreements in the matter.

During his stay in Brazil, Prime Minister Roman also had contacts with a number of political personalities. After the working meeting with the president of Brazil, the Romanian prime minister visited the National Congress where he met President of the Federal Senate Mauro Benevides, president of the Chamber of Deputies Ibsen Pinheiro, other representatives of the Brazilian legislative body, on which occasion he exchanged information on the two countries' experience in building and guaranteeing a constitutional system, in safeguarding a democratic life. On the same line of exchanging ideas on the organisation of pluralistic societies, on the separation of powers, and the observance of human rights in a state of law, the Romanian prime minister visited the Supreme Federal Tribunal where he met its President Jose Nerei da Silveira.

During the discussions with the minister for science and technology, Jose Goldemberg, the two sides considered the converging interests and areas rendered apt for common activities by the period the two countries are traversing.

Also Tuesday, Prime Minister Roman met foreign minister Francisco Rezek. They focused their attention on how Romania and Brazil could cooperate and impose their presence in a most constructive way in a world dominated by sharp contradictions, hard to ignore.

Mesic Statement on 12 March Presidency Session

LD1303131491 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Statement by SFRY Presidency Vice President Stipe Mesic on 13 March; place not given—recorded]

[Text] At around midday yesterday, we, the members of the Presidency, received the following invitation: At the request of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and the Supreme Command Staff, I am convening an emergency session of the SFRY Presidency in its capacity as the Armed Forces Supreme Command.

The session will be held today, 12 March, at 1500 in Belgrade at the Supreme Command post. Departure from the Federation Palace will be at 1430 exactly. Attendance is compulsory. No reason for not attending will be considered justified.

The session took place at the above venue. We could not agree with what the Supreme Command Staff asked for, i.e. the introduction of emergency measures with stepped up mobility and mobilization [as heard] of sections of the Armed Forces. The majority of presidency members did not accept this proposal. This was then reformulated, but it is up to the staff to decide how many Army units to deploy if necessary and when. In other words, the staff will be able to decide autonomously when to deploy the Army in the streets, but not necessarily when to put it on combat readiness.

All this indicates that something else is at work here. The Army leadership is afraid that a democratic agreement will not be reached and that it is the Army that should secure conditions for further negotiations. In my opinion, this is completely wrong. Negotiations that would be organized by the Army as a guarantor of a democratic denouement would surely be something else. Therefore, I maintain that the Army should remain in the barracks. This is not the concern of the Army. The Army should wait for an agreement that legitimate representives will reach.

Presidency Meets in Special Session

LD1403144691 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] All members of the SFRY Presidency have arrived in Belgrade to hold a session this afternoon of the SFRY Presidency in its capacity as supreme commander of the Armed Forces. This is the second such session in 48 hours. General Veljko Kadijevic [federal secretary for national defense] is participating in his capacity as head of the Supreme Command headquarters.

As announced, the Supreme Command headquarters will today propose what is to be done in the newly created situation in Serbia.

Various Banners Displayed at Usce Rally

AU1303220591 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Mar 91 p 3

[Text] The following banners were carried yesterday at the rally organized by the Socialist Party of Serbia at the Usce [the confluence of the two rivers in Belgrade]: "Serbia, Vuk has betrayed you again"; "Down with the Serbian Renewal Movement"; "Do not dupe our children, Vuk Brankovic [reference to 14th century Serbian figure traditionally seen as a traitor to Serbia]"; "Down with Serbian Tudjmans"; "Students, do not believe the traitors of the Serbian people"; "Draskovic 1968—Jokanovic 1991 have betrayed the students"; "Little Red Riding Hood, beware the wolf—he is bloodthirsty"; "Against the destroyers of Yugoslavia"; "We do not want civil war"; "Sabac—Serbian Verdun will defend freedom"; "Micunovic, traitor, how much have you been paid to shed the blood of the Serbian people?"; "Down with the helpers of the Ustasha, Ballists, and Serbian traitors"; "Yugoslavia—Yugoslav People's Army"; "Sloba will be with us from the cradle to the grave," and "The Serbian people do not want another leader, Slobodan, the second Karadjordje" (workers of the "Dunavprevoz" enterprise). There were also many banners from committees of the Socialist Party of Serbia and enterprises in Nis, Koceljevo, and Sid and even one banner from Kragujevac that had already been seen when women carried it at the recent meeting outside the Palace of the Federation.

The participants at the meeting shouted: "We do not forsake Serbia"; "Army, Army"; "Yugoslavia, Yugoslavia"; "We do not want Mesic"; "We do not want fascists," and "Vuk, the killer"....

Students Maintain Terazije Street Vigil

LD1303054591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0529 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—Around 2,000 students are still gathered around Terazije Fountain. They will continue pressing with their demands for the release of all arrested demonstrators and the resignation of [Serbian Internal Affairs Minister] Radmilo Bogdanovic. The students are listening to music and radio news, and occasionally are shouting in support of democracy and Serbia. At around 0600 taxi drivers brought food to the students.

Pledge To Remain 'Whole Day'

LD1303074591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0627 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, Mar 13 (TANJUG)—Around 2,000 students are still demonstrating in central Belgrade this morning at 06:00 local time, although the demonstrations were declared as ended by the student leadership last night around midnight local time.

The demonstrators, who spent the past night in Terazije Square, sporadically shouted slogans and made brief speeches, accompanied by a rock concert in which well-known Belgrade rock groups performed. Cheering Serbia and democracy, the students intend to stay in the central square the whole day, as the speakers have announced.

The organizers of the three-day protest of Belgrade students announced last night at around midnight local time (23:00 GMT) that the demonstrations are over, but the organizing committee announced that the general strike of the students and the professors of Belgrade University would continue. A condition for the strike to finally end is the replacement of the republican interior minister who is blamed for the tragic events and casualties in Belgrade last Saturday.

This condition has been set by the demonstrators still in Belgrade's central square this morning.

The Serbian legislature last night announced that it met almost all of the student demands with regard to the release of many arrested persons and resignations in Belgrade television, with the exception of the demand for the replacement of republican Interior Minister Radmilo Bogdanovic because of the Saturday events, when two persons were killed and over one hundred wounded in the clashes between the police and demonstrators.

Vuk Draskovic, the leader of the main opposition party the Serbian Renewal Movement, last night was released from prison and appeared before the students.

Some 2,000 students, as compared to the several tens of thousands of students who were in the square yesterday afternoon, intend to stay in the square, but their mood is brightening.

At the same time, a general relief can be felt among Belgraders after the text of the Serbian legislature was accepted last night and an official end to the strike was declared. This impression is suggested by last night's live television coverage by independent television Studio-B, which made contact with the students still in the central square.

Student General Strike Continues

AU1303093291 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Ruzica Simovic report]

[Text] In Terazije, the central Belgrade Square where students have been holding demonstrations for the last three days, there are several hundred high school students. They are not dispersing despite the fact that shortly after midnight the Organization Committee proclaimed that the demonstrations are over. The general strike by Belgrade University will continue, they say, until [Serbian] Internal Affairs Minister Radmilo Bogdanovic either resigns or is replaced.

[Simovic] Several hundred students are still in Terazije waiting for their demands to be fully met. At present, students from Nis are discussing whether they should return by the buses that have been provided or not. The buses will be available at 1500. Students cannot agree and most probably one group will stay and another go back. The students (?have been here) in Terazije since the early morning hours. The left lane of the road, going from Republic' Square toward Slavija, is free for traffic.

Many Universities Face Boycott

LD1303114791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1148 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Excerpt] Novi Sad, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—Joining their colleagues from Belgrade University, students of institutes in Novi Sad, Subotica, Zrenjanin, and other places in Vojvodina are today boycotting lectures.

The leadership of the Alliance of Students of Novi Sad University is currently discussing the newly created situation, although for the moment students are not gathering. [passage omitted]

Student Demonstrations Gain Strength

AU1303114191 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Zorica Pantelic report from Terazije, Belgrade on 13 March]

[Text] In Terazije Square there are already several thousand students and citizens. Speaker after speaker is appearing on the rostrum. Speakers comprise students, professors, artists, and public workers.

Borka Pavicevic, head of the Yugoslav Drama Theater, appealed to the students to persist in their demands. Sociology professor Ratko Bozovic, who appealed against any words of hatred being spoken, was greeted with tumultuous applause. We want to have bridges with Croats and Slovenes, with everyone, but they have been destroyed, Bozovic said, being greeted with frenetic applause.

Students are appealing for peace and dignity. These are not party demonstrations, do not let us be provoked.

They are demanding the fulfillment of their last demand, the resignation of [Serbian Interior] Minister Bogdanovic.

Students are dissociating themselves from the Strike Committee, which stated that the student demonstrations are over. We will stay here until the last demand has been fulfilled, they say. The authorities are trying to bait us. An invitation has been made for President Milosevic to address students.

The appeal of the mother of a young man who lost his life in the 9 March demonstrations was also read. She wants the funeral to be for members of the family and friends only, and not to be used for party propaganda.

In Terazije, everything is being conducted in peace.

Serbian Party Supports Students

LD1403144991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1442 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—The Serbian Democratic Party [Srpska Demokratska Stranka—SDS] of Bosnia-Hercegovina sides with no party in Serbia and is against any action likely further to raise political passions. This was stated at a scheduled news conference in Sarajevo today. The SDS condemns any form of power struggle or ideological tensions from any quarter, especially at the present juncture, which is so vital for the Serbian nation and its state.

The SDS welcomes the non-party action of the students and their justified demands, as well as the conduct of the Serbian People's Assembly. It stresses that the Serbian Assembly is becoming a body with genuine respect for each party, with a tolerant majority and a constructive minority.

Asked about a report that Bogic Bogicevic has resigned, Radovan Karadzic said that yesterday he talked to Bogicevic but the latter made no mention of his intention to resign.

Croat, Slovene Students Show Support

AU1303134091 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] The demonstrations in Terazije are still going on. There are about 1,000 people there. In addition to students, the crowd is also addressed by various artists.

On the fourth day of demonstration the crowd was addressed by poet Vesna Krmpotic. She said that the situation in Croatia is not such as it is presented here, because both sides are lying to us. Therefore, we should not let ourselves be pushed against each other, Vesna Krmpotic said.

Students are enthusiastically accepting the support expressed by students from Zagreb, Ljubljana, Skopje, Sarajevo, and Titograd, and are promising that they will reciprocate with support.

Nis University Students Restate Demands

LD1303161891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1553 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Nis, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—Nis University students today continued to boycott their lessons because demands for the replacement of Serbian Internal Affairs Miniter Radmilo Bogdanovic have not been satisfied.

As stated by Ninoslav Mitic, president of the executive committee of that university's student union, Nis students today demanded the replacement of the entire university senate and of all the deans, with the exception of University Prorector Gradimir Milovanovic; Electronics Faculty Dean Ninoslav Stojadinovic; and Faculty of Philosophy Dean Miladin Ilic, who stood by the students.

Boycott of classes will continue until the demands have been satisfied. Peaceful student demonstrations in the city center have been announced for tomorrow.

Unkovic on Student Demands, Foreign Interference

LD1203154991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1249 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Report on news conference by Belgrade Mayor Milorad Unkovic in Belgrade on 12 March]

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—We support the demands of the students, but not all of them, only those that are justified. If someone on the street thinks that he can replace the legally elected state services, we cannot support this.

Stressing that the situation in Belgrade continues to be difficult, he said that it is important that the demands of the high school pupils are not misused "by those who want to destroy Serbia. The Albanian alternative, the Croatian Democratic Community, and foreign services are involved in the demonstrations in the capital," Unkovic emphasized.

Asked whether there is concrete information on this, the mayor replied no, and said even if there were it would not be announced. The involvement of separatists and the Croatian Democratic Community is ascertained from various statements that are being issued by Ibrahim Rugova and Stipe Mesic, Unkovic stressed. Asked about the participation of foreign services, he replied that it can be seen from an analysis of the speech of [Serbian] President Slobodan Milosevic that there is large-scale interfernce by foreign forces that want to set up a puppet regime in Serbia.

The mayor also stressed that it is exceptionally important that workers remain in the factories, at their work places. In some enterprises there have been attempts to lead the employees out of the collectives, but this has not been done anywhere, Unkovic said.

Belgrade Streets Open, Transportation Normal

LD1303105191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1013 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 13 (TANJUG)—Over one thousand people, mostly young, continue to demonstrate in Belgrade's central Terazije Square this morning, according to rough estimates.

Speakers are taking turns in addressing the crowd.

The mother of Branivoje Milinovic, 17, who was killed in the demonstrations last Saturday, today called on the

young not to attend her son's funeral today, so that it would be peaceful and dignified. The appeal was read to the demonstrators in Terazije Square. Milinovic's mother also called on all political parties to refrain from presenting their views at the funeral.

A half of Terazije street, in the direction from Slavija Square to Republic Square, is now open to traffic.

No groups of policemen are to be seen any more in the strictest centre of the city.

All approaches, including those leading to the Serbian Assembly and presidency buildings, are open.

The city transport has been nearly completely normalized.

Serbian Opposition Rally Attracts 50,000

AU1303143091 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Radovan Pantovic report from Belgrade's Republic Square on 13 March]

[Text] Here in Republic Square, where there are already some 50,000 citizens, the rally of the Serbian Renaissance Movement [SPO] and other opposition parties has just started. The rally was opened by SPO Chairman Vuk Draskovic who said that a requiem will be held later today for the two brothers that tragically lost their lives three days ago.

At present, members of the Orthodox Church are holding a requiem in front of a large number of citizens.

Milosevic Receives Group of Assembly Delegates

AU1303150791 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] TANJUG reports that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic met today with presidents of the deputies groups of the Serbian Assembly: Zoran Sokolovic, Slobodan Raketic, Dragoljub Micunovic, Borivoje Petrovic, and Andras Agoston.

I ask you, Milosevic said, to do what you promised before the National Assembly and the public, so work will resume in the state institutions, so all attempts to resolve political problems outside the assembly will stop, so Belgrade can return to normal, and so schools, factories, and universities can start working again.

This should be our answer to all those who were prematurely happy that Serbia and the Serbian people are on their knees and that Serbian regions outside the Republic will burst like a bubble. Let this be our answer: Serbia is not on its knees.

Presidents of the deputies groups in the Serbian Assembly expressed readiness for constructive mutual cooperation and the affirmation of the significance of democratic work in the republic's multiparty National Assembly.

The participants in the talks emphasized that all issues of general interest should be solved through discussions and dialogue among the participants in the process of decisionmaking, and above all in the Serbian Assembly. All citizens and political parties in Serbia should contribute to this with their democratic behavior in accordance with the rights and obligations as established by the Constitution.

Serbian Opposition Group Ends Rally

AU1303163291 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1617 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Radovan Pantovic report from Belgrade on 13 March]

[Text] The meeting here on Republic Square has ended. There are [word indistinct] people here who remained after the official part of the meeting. People are strolling around and crossing the square and laying flowers and candles at the monument to Prince Mihailo

Some of the demonstrators, those who had been at the meeting, have set off for Terazije Street, where the meeting of students of Belgrade University is continuing

'Politika' Journalists Urge Management To Resign

LD1303160491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1526 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—Over 100 journalists of the Politika publishing house today called on the editors of POLITIKA, POLITIKA EKSPRES, NIN, INTERVJU and TV POLITIKA to resign.

At a meeting in Belgrade's Youth Center today, organized by the independent union of POLITIKA journalists, the editors of those publications were condemned for having violated their professional code.

It was also demanded that new professionals be appointed to the posts of editors, with prior consultations with the journalists.

The journalists called for urgent measures to clarify the status of the Politika publishing house and to abolish party control over its editorial policy. Moreover, the authorities were asked to withdraw the police force now occupying the Politika building.

TV Editor Resigns, Program Editor Removed

LD1303173691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1503 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—During an emergency session held on 13 March, the Workers' Council of Belgrade Radio and Television accepted the resignation of Ivan Krivec, chief and executive editor of the third

program. During the same session Slavko Buduhna, acting editor of the home news desk, was relieved of his duties.

Belgrade Schools Will Reopen 14 March

LD1303175191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1718 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—Regular classes will resume in Belgrade's primary and secondary schools tomorrow. This decision was passed today by the capital's secretariat for education.

It was the same secretariat that decided to suspend classes in Belgrade schools yesterday "at the request of a large number of parents and also to protect schoolchildren from possible violence caused by individuals and groups in the capital."

Students Demand Resignation, Release Confirmation

AU1303173891 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1657 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Radovan Pantovic report]

[Text] The peaceful protest on Terazije Street, or, as the students have been calling it, the [word indistinct] revolution, has already lasted into a fourth day, and the students are quite determined to remain here the whole night if need be.

They are insisting that all their demands be met in full and they are now particularly insisting on official confirmation that Serbian Internal Affairs Minister Radmilo Bogdanovic has submitted his resignation. They are also demanding confirmation that all students will be released, that is to say, reports have been arriving here that the students have been released, but there has been no official confirmation. The students who are here are insisting that all their comrades [words indistinct] be released.

Messages of support have been arriving; poetry is being read; food, fruit, and drink is being distributed. About two or three minutes ago, the students were addressed by Borislav Pekic, who gave them encouragement and told them to remain insistent and persist in their demands.

Novi Sad Radio Officials Submit Resignation

LD1303201391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1937 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Summary] Novi Sad, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—In keeping with the demands of Belgrade and Novi Sad students, resignations were submitted today by Milorad Vukovic, director of Novi Sad radio, and Dusanka Radmilovic, chief and executive editor of the Serbo-Croat program. They both said that, contrary to claims by the Novi Sad radio and TV independent journalists' association, they had given no support to the Belgrade TV leadership.

Branko Balj, general director of Novi Sad TV, however, told TANJUG this evening that to his knowledge no one has submitted any resignations so far.

Novi Sad Students Divided; Media Leaders Resign

AU1303212391 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Slavko Pusic report]

[Text] The events in Belgrade have provoked a reaction from students in Novi Sad. A news conference confirmed that Vojvodina students are divided. Slavko Pusic has the details:

[Pusic] Stressing that they have supported their colleagues in Belgrade from the very beginning, Milenko Markovic, president of the Students Union of Novi Sad University, announced several more demands:

[Begin Markovic recording] [word indistinct] at tomorrow's session, the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina should urgently establish the responsibility of the chief and responsible editor and the general director of Novi Sad Radio and Television, and the chief and responsible editor and general director [word indistinct] the news program from Novi Sad for biased and incorrect reporting of the meeting of support for Belgrade students, which was organized by the Students Union of Novi Sad University, and relieve them of their duties. This should also be done because of incorrect reporting on 9 March, that means reporting of the meeting in Belgrade, because the team from Novi Sad Radio and Television and Belgrade Television (?contributed in their reports to disturbing) the peace on the territory of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina. [end recording]

Bozo Ristanovic, member of the Independent Students Union, did not fully agree with these demands, and he arrived unannounced for the news conference:

[Begin Ristanovic recording] (?These demands were read out at the meeting). Students have added to these demands with the clear demand that Vojvodina Executive Council President Radoman Bozovic submit his resignation. Second, this does not concern the resignation of only two of the directors, but the resignation of all those editors who Radoman Bozovic appointed [word indistinct] earlier. Students also support the demands of the Independent Journalists Trade Union that all those employed by Bozovic should be replaced.

Another thing is that [words indistinct]. This ten percent does not exist [words indistinct]. As far as I know there was not even a quorum. [end recording]

One can conclude from everything that we have heard that this is a matter of a rift in the student organization of Novi Sad, which had already been indicated in

announcements in the last few days, but it is clear that both sides are for now in total agreement on the stand to boycott lectures if all their demands are not met. These demands will be discussed by the Executive Council of Vojvodina and if they are not adopted, members of the Independent Students Union has announced a new protest meeting for tomorrow.

Regarding the students' demands, Novi Sad Radio Director Milorad Vukovic, and Dusanka Radmilovic, chief editor of programming in Serbo-Croatian, have submitted their resignations to the Executive Council.

Demonstration Outcome Seen as Uncertain

LD1303170691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1522 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 13 (TANJUG)—Most of the Yugoslav media assess on Wednesday that the ultimate outcome of the student demonstrations in Belgrade still hangs in the balance, despite the fact that the legislature of the Republic of Serbia yesterday evening met the majority of student demands.

The daily BORBA, which is close to the federal government of Prime Minister Markovic, notes that the demonstrators have not dispersed even on the fourth day of their protest, although the organizing committee declared the demonstrations ended. The paper says the students insist on the fulfilment of the remaining demands while putting forward a new one—that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic come and address them in Belgrade's central Terazije Square where their protest is being held.

The student protest against the use of force in Saturday's demonstrations, in which two persons were killed and over 80 injured, have continued since Sunday.

The original opposition demands to ensure the full freedom of information and replace Belgrade television chiefs were accepted under student pressure. However, the students continue to demand the resignation of Serbian Interior Minister Radmilo Bogdanovic and the release of nearly 200 detained demonstrators.

Most Yugoslav newspapers today frontpage the news that the leaders of all Serbian legislative parties have called for dialogue, peace and reason.

POLITIKA, close to the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia, assesses this as a "victory of concord and democracy" and stresses the Serbian prime minister's statement that an "accord for democracy, freedom and Serbia" has thus been achieved. The daily points out that the students have waited peacefully for the acceptance of their demands.

Another Belgrade daily, POLITIKA EKSPRES, also stresses the "peace and persistence" of students and says that they were joined in their protest by professors, academicians and other cultural workers of Belgrade.

In the paper's view, "reason and not split" has prevailed in the Serbian legislature. "Serbia proved to be above party passions." After that, the "student protest late last night turned into a kind of jamboree of Serbian reconciliation and tolerance."

The Zagreb daily VECERNJI LIST reports that the "demonstrators reject any bargaining with the Serbian government about their demands." The paper says that the demonstrations are proceeding in peace, but adds that the "students nevertheless fear police intervention."

VECERNJI LIST and another Zagreb daily, VJESNIK, point out that the support to students is spreading both in and outside Belgrade.

After the bloody Romanian example, says VJESNIK, the Belgrade unrest has brought back the memories of the way that any suppression of victory and its component part, the freedom of information, ends."

The Sarajevo daily OSLOBODJENJE notes in a special article that the "drama is formally taking place in Belgrade," but that "it is Yugoslav by its nature and dimensions." What is happening in Serbia may mean the "beginning of an end of national homogenizations in this country."

Army Intervention Criticized by Papers

LD1303230291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2224 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Zagreb, March 13 (TANJUG)—The Zagreb daily VJESNIK writes in tomorrow's issue that the supreme commander has refused obedience to the generals and at least in this instance made it clear that tanks will not be used to resolve the Yugoslav crisis.

In a commentary on yesterday's session of the Yugoslav State Presidency, which under the constitution is the commander-in-chief of the armed forces, the daily recalls that this was the third time that Presidency President Borisav Jovic had attempted to resolve some pressing issues by a military intervention.

The Belgrade daily BORBA, in an article entitled "Armoured Vehicles on Weekends," writes about army interventions in the Croatian town of Pakrac two weeks ago and in Belgrade last weekend, expressing fear that similar events may be repeated.

Yugoslavia is ailing, perhaps dying, writes BORBA and concludes that no one, not even the state presidency in its capacity as supreme commander, is justified in resorting to euthanasia of the country.

Journalists Urge Union Leadership To Resign

LD1303194791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1832 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Summary] Belgrade, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—At a meeting in Belgrade's Youth Club—organized by the Independent Trade Union—journalists of Belgrade editorial

boards demanded the resignations of the Serbian Journalists' Association leadership and of the official journalists' trade union. The journalists today also announced the forming of a new, independent trade union for Belgrade media and said that they would demand its official recognition.

Belgrade Demonstration Ends; Students Disperse

LD1403015391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0113 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—After 0100 the Belgrade University students' demonstrations, which began in Terazije four days ago, ended.

The students expressed solidarity with the demands of the opposition in Serbia, and also demanded that all those arrested in the demonstrations on 9 March be released and that Serbian Internal Affairs Minister Radmilo Bogdanovic resign.

Around 5,000 students and citizens of Belgrade have already dispersed to the strains of rock music.

Nearly All Demonstrators Released From Detention

AU1303220091 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2106 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Zarko Simovic report from Belgrade on 13 March]

[Text] It is still uncertain whether the four-day meeting in Terazije Street will end. A student delegation, which had been holding talks in the Serbian Assembly, arrived just a few minutes ago. The delegation was received by Serbian Assembly Vice President Borivoje Petrovic. He informed the students of the release of 106 of the people who were arrested on 9 March. The students received confirmation of this from Jovan Marijanovic.

One of the students' remaining demands is for Serbian Internal Affairs Minister Radmilo Bulatovic to tender his irrevocable resignation. It seems to us that the demonstrators will not disperse until the last of their demands is met.

There are still about 10,000 people in Terazije Street.

'Serious' Demonstrators Detained

LD1303194691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1855 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 13 March (TANJUG)—The people who committed minor offenses during the 9 March demonstrations had their sentences commuted and were released today. The announcement has been made by the City of Belgrade Offenses Council.

No conditions exist for people who committed serious offenses, such as unlawful carrying of arms and attacks on official personnel, to be released under any sort of pressure because that would be illegal, the statement issued by the council says.

Detainees Promised Release

LD1303233291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2308 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Summary] Belgrade, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—Jovan Marjanovic, vice chairman of the Serbian Renaissance Movement, was among the latest group released from detention in Padinska Skela this evening. Eight demonstrators still remain in the prison, but Marjanovic said that they have recieved promises of their release. The newly-released demonstrators have decided to stay on Terazije with the rest, and if the remaining eight are not freed they all pledged to return to the prison.

Released Protestors Welcomed in Terazije

LD1303224491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2228 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—About 100 people who were arrested during the 9 March demonstrations in Belgrade and were released from detention in Padinska Skela tonight have arrived in the city center, mostly by taxi. The section of road running from Republican Square to Terazije was specially opened for them. In Terazije they were enthusiastically greeted by the people taking part in the protest.

'Magnificent Victory' of Belgrade Rally Noted

LD1403032991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0212 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—Sometime after 0100 after four days of a "velvet" protest, the student demonstrations in Belgrade have ended.

All the demands of the students, who expressed solidarity with the opposition, have been fulfilled, while it remains for the Serbian Assembly to consider the tendered resignation of Internal Affairs Minister Radmilo Bogdanovic.

Of the 108 people arrested on 9 March, 100 of them were released this evening and personally came to Terazije. Given the already tendered resignations of the well-known five from Belgrade television, the release "completed" the list of demands of the academics.

Regarding the remaining eight, Dr. Zoran Djindjic, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Democratic Party and who is himself a university lecturer, guaranteed tonight that he would personally advocate that they, too, be released during the coming day.

As the final speaker at this students' protest, which over the past few days many have compared with the famous year of 1968, Djindjic said that the irrevocable resignation of Bogdanovic is not sufficient, and is even undesired, because "someone above him is to blame."

With these demonstrations, he continued, something that has not been done since 1945—extracting a concession from the government—has been achieved. "You have been the most serious partner of the government, which before this did not even want to have negotiations with the opposition," Djindjic added.

Calling on those present to disperse, the actor Branislav Lecic, thanks to whom these demonstrations have had a particular rhythm, and who tirelessly "led" the student meeting ceaselessly day and night, proposed that these demonstrations be brought to an end with a song, after which about 5,000 of those present dispersed.

After the end of the demonstrations, national Deputy Dr. Zoran Djindjic said in a statement to TANJUG that this event has been the greatest thing to have happened in the history of the postwar opposition.

"A defeat with the tanks in the street, he added, has been turned into a magnificent victory. It is also important that this victory is not diminished by its being dragged out, and that its political character is not diminished in this way. It is important that these demonstrations remain in the memory of people as a great and powerful meeting of students who know very well what they want," Dr. Zoran Djindjic said.

Life Returning to Normal in Belgrade

LD1403115591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1103 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—After five turbulent days, Belgrade is gradually returning to normal everyday life. Since this morning the flow of traffic in the center of the city has been normal. Schools and faculties have resumed work. All city services are functioning normally.

Board Accepts Novi Sad Media Resignations

LD1403120791 Belgrade Tanjug Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1130 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Novi Sad, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—At the demand of the students of Novi Sad University, the Executive Council of Vojvodina today accepted the resignations of Branko Balj, director of Novi Sad television; Milorad Vuckovic, director of Novi Sad radio; Kamenko Mutic, editor of the Novi Sad television current affairs programs in Serbo-Croatian; and Milos Ignjatovic, editor-in-chief of DNEVNIK.

The Executive Council stated that the resignations were tendered and should therefore be interpreted as a moral act and a personal response to students' demands aimed at creating conditions for further democratic processes in the province and in the media.

The provincial government today appointed Milan Lucic, who is the current information minister, as acting director general of Novi Sad radio and television; Marko Kekovic as the acting editor of Novi Sad television; and Svetozar Gavric to head DNEVNIK. All the vacancies will be advertised as soon as possible.

Nis University Resumes Normal Operations

LD1403154991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1423 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Nis, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—The work and lectures at all nine faculties of Nis University have returned to normal.

The University Council came to the conclusion that the recent gatherings of students in Nis proceeded in a dignified and peaceful manner and without any serious incident. The council appealed to the students and the teaching staff to invest additional efforts to compensate for what has been lost as a result of recent events.

The University Council also endorsed a demand by the students for a youth radio station in Nis and for a student newspaper.

Serbian Interior Minister Offers Resignation

AU1303142091 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1346 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Radio Belgrade has just received the text of the offered resignation by Serbian Internal Affairs Minister Radmilo Bogdanovic. I will now read it to you in its entirety:

To the National Assembly of Serbia, Belgrade,

To preempt any possibility of the manipulation of my influence over the work of the legislative commission, I am offering my resignation to the Serbian Assembly.

Belgrade, 13 March

[signed] Radmilo Bogdanovic

Committee Collecting Evidence on Demonstrations

LD1403152591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1410 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 14 (TANJUG)—A multi-party inquiry committee of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia legislature addressed on Thursday all television stations, newspaper staffs and agencies, photo and movie camera amateurs, who can provide authentic proof on the clashes between demonstrators and police on March 9 and the police intervention on March 10, when student protests began in Belgrade.

Two people died and over one hundred were injured in these events.

The committee was formed to prepare a report for the next republican legislative session on March 20, so that the legislature could determine who was responsible for the events.

It was announced at the Serbian legislature on Thursday that there have already been demands from individual citizens by phone that detailed investigation be carried out to determine whether, and who and when, during demonstrations, beat a girl under elementary school age, as set out during the meeting of the joint Serbian opposition in Belgrade on Wednesday.

Opposition Demands Serbian Government Resignation

AU1303160091 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1540 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Dragan Stavljanin report]

[Text] Before the beginning of the meeting on Republic Square, where about 20,000 people had gathered at 1500 and where later there were more than 50,000 citizens, wreathes were laid at the monument to Prince Mihajlo, where there were pictures of Branivoje Milinovic.

Opening the meeting, Serbian Renaissance Movement Chairman Vuk Draskovic said that had there been this rationality on Saturday there would not have been bloodshed and the death of two people. After that, Serbian Orthodox priests held a requiem.

As the meeting continued, Draskovic demanded not only the resignation of [Serbian] Internal Affairs Minister Radmilo Bogdanovic, but also of the whole government.

Reading an announcement by the Serbian United Opposition that was signed by the Serbian Renaissance Movement, the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, the People's Radical Party, the People's Peasant Party, the Democratic Party, and other parties, Nebojsa Popov, leader of the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, said that they were demanding full reporting on everything that is happening and they also demand the prevention in any way of the possible introduction of a state of emergency and Army intervention, which would mean the end of the democratization of Serbia and Yugoslavia.

At the end of the announcement, the united opposition called on citizens to gather again at 1500 on Wednesday, 20 March—the same day that the Serbian Assembly is due to meet—at Republic Square, which the opposition calls Freedom Square.

Serbian Interior Ministry Denies Arming Serbs

LD1403163191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1435 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—In connection with claims made by officials of the Democratic Action Party [Stranka Demokratske Akcije] in public information media and at public gatherings that Serbs in villages near Pazar, Sjenica, and Tutin [all in Bosnia-Hercegovina] are allegedly being armed with the help of helicopters of the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs [MUP], which caused disquiet and fear, the Serbian MUP stated that these claims are false and tendentious. They, the statement adds, are aimed at spreading fear among the population of these municipalities. Appropriate legal measures will be undetaken against persons who are distrubing citizens on territories of municipalities with mixed population, the statement concludes.

Drnovsek To Attend Federal Presidency Session

AU1303165891 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Interview with Slovene SFRY Presidency Representative Janez Drnovsek by an unidentified reporter on 13 March; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [SFRY Presidency President] President Jovic convened yesterday's session of the SFRY Presidency in a rather peremptory manner. Today we asked Janez Drnovsek for an interview. First, he described in great detail how the session was convened and told us that he and [SFRY Presidency Vice President] Stipe Mesic demanded the session be postponed or conducted in another city. Five other members of the SFRY Presidency agreed with this, but President Jovic insisted that the session be held immediately. Let us listen to what Janez Drnovsek had to say: [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Are you going to take part in tomorrow's continuation, the second round, of the session, while in the meantime the Military Command should be preparing new proposals?

[Drnovsek] I must admit that regarding this I am, of course, in a great dilemma today. I was just about to go with a decision that was already made—to no longer participate in the SFRY Presidency's work and to definitely conclude my participation in the SFRY Presidency. Since yesterday's session, I have been asked by several members of the Presidency if I could take part in tomorrow's session. This was a sort of an appeal to again establish a chance for a different method of resolving the political crisis—that is, a peaceful political solution—and not resolving it with repressive means, and therefore, these members wish to have support at tomorrow's session. Regarding the whole situation, regarding such proposals, and also after consulting the Slovene political leadership today, I have decided to take part in tomorrow's session.

Macedonian Official Opposes 'Military Option'

LD1303231691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2241 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Skopje, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—"During the SFRY Presidency session on 12 March, I presented my categorical stance on the introduction of emergency measures, without any chance that it could be misinterpreted, that I am against any idea whatsoever of any military option to solve Yugoslavia's political, national, and interethnic problems." This was stated on Skopje Television tonight

SFRY Presidency member Vasil Turpurkovski answering viewers' questions on the way he voted last night.

Since agreeing to army intervention in the Belgrade streets on 9 March, Turpurkovski has become a frequent target of attacks by some political leaders and information media in Macedonia.

Supported Army Use in Belgrade

AU1403130091 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Mar 91 p 5

[Unattributed report:"A Conflict Between the Legitimate Authorities and the Opposition"]

[Text] Skopje—Speaking to Skopje veterans about the latest events in Belgrade, Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the SFRY Presidency, said that we are entering the most dramatic stage in Yugoslav events, and stressed that these tragic events do not represent the end of confrontations in the country.

What has been happening in Belgrade is a conflict between the legitimately-elected authorities and the opposition, which is also legitimate. At the SFRY Presidency session, I voted in favor of engaging the Yugoslav People's Army, as a preventative demonstration of force. Tupurkovski explained his stand and vote by saying that democracy would be too expensive if human lives were thrown on the rubbish heap. He stressed that it had been agreed in this respect that the Army would not come into contact with the demonstrators and that there was no room for the Army in negotiations on Yugoslavia's future.

Serbian Leaders React to Belgrade Events

AU1403125791 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Mar 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "We Do Not Allow Fratricide of the Serbian People"]

[Text] The unpleasant events in Belgrade have profoundly concerned all Serbs throughout Yugoslavia. The leaders of the Serbian Democratic Party in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Serbian National Council of the Krajina have made statements concerning the destructive campaigns of Vuk Draskovic and his supporters.

We do not agree to pressure being exerted through non-democratic means in present day Yugoslavia. The Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina are not primarily preoccupied with who will be in power but with how this people will live better in the present and future, Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party in Bosnia-Hercegovina, said.

At this moment when the Serbian people need to gather all their forces to resist the revamped Ustasha, Albanian terror, and the great conspiracy against Serbianism and Serbia, it is unacceptable for terror and violence to be used to bring down the legally and democratically elected government of Serbia. Brother Serbs in Serbia, Knin and the Krajina call on you and want you to remain united. Do not allow the fratricide to be repeated that would bring the Serbian people to the edge of the abyss, Milan Babic, president of the Serbian National Council of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina, stated.

Montenegro Statement on Belgrade Situation

LD1303171591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1417 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Titograd, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—In response to criticism of the Montenegro Presidency's attitude voiced during recent meetings of support for their colleagues at Belgrade University by Titograd students, members of the presidency of this republic today sent a message to the students and lecturers of Veljko Vlahovic University in Titograd.

We expect the work of the Montenegro Presidency to be subjected to the judgment and criticism of the public, Slobodan Vujacic, Milica Pejanovic-Djurisic, and Momir Bulatovice stress. Having started our political career at the university, we attach particular importance to the way our colleagues, students, and lecturers assess our work.

The statement from the last session of the Montenegro Presidency provides no grounds for concluding that the presidency supported Serbia's state services or that it assumed a negative attitude to the demands of the students and the youth of Serbia. Our stand is that we deeply regret the casualties and most vehemently condemn the violent and destructive behavior to which the Yugoslav capital was subjected. In addition we supported "the measures of the appropriate authorities designed to guarantee peace and security, safeguard the values of democratic society, and normalize life in the federal capital."

The statement was issued on Sunday afternoon, before the student protest began and before the demands were made to the Serbian Assembly. We note with satisfaction that the implementation of the demands signifies an important step in the development of democratic relations and in the promotion of the values that the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro genuinely advocates in this specific case and through its constant activities.

'Federal Units' Support FEC Proposal

AU1403171191 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9-10 Mar 91 p 1

[TANJUG report: "Support Given to the Minimum"]

[Text] Belgrade—The governments of all federal units are supporting the Federal Executive Council [FEC] initiative about a need to secure normal functioning of the minimum functions of the system and the common

state until a historic agreement on the future organization of the Yugoslav community is adopted.

In the FEC document that was compiled after the recent talks with the Republican Executive Councils and presented to the Yugoslav Assembly yesterday, it was concluded that although overall support was given to this initiative "certain lesser or greater differences of views were also expressed in connection with some issues."

Among the issues on which the stands differ only "marginally" were: the convertibility of the dinar as a single Yugoslav currency, the monetary system, hard currency reserves with which we are securing external liquidity and convertibility of the dinar, the unhindered flow of payments, the functioning of the market, the changes in property relations, and the maintenance of personal and public expenditure within the limits set by economic policies.

It is stated that all "republican governments supported the need for the fulfillment of certain obligations of the Federation in the areas of national defense, state security, and international affairs, but the differences existed regarding the amount of resources that should be allocated for these activities and a method of financing."

The Executive Councils of Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina demand "the incursion into the monetary system be dealt with," and the reliable functioning of the fund for underdeveloped regions be ensured.

Among questions that remain open and for which further consultations should be carried out in order to find a solution are: the financial reconstruction of banks and the financial system, the Federation's participation in financing the social programs, the work of the National Bank of Yugoslavia and its role as a central monetary institution, the policies to be taken toward the underdeveloped, the financing of the federation, and the 1991 federal budget. Among the specific matters Serbia demanded a unified establishment and implementation of the agricultural policy, Bosnia-Hercegovina demanded financial incentives to resolve ecological problems, and Croatia demanded "that the FEC dissociate itself from the policy of pressures under which the talks on the future common life in the country have been conducted."

Although all participants in the talks have not stated their opinions yet, those who did supported the FEC proposal to finish the process of adopting amendments to the SFRY Constitution, to carry out the multiparty elections for the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly, and create conditions for the unhindered flow of information.

Chamber Asks Presidency To Clarify Army Status

LD1303181591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1544 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—The Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly today called on the SFRY Presidency to prepare for the chamber's April session a report on "the problems of realization of the Presidency's constitutional function."

A number of delegates demanded that this general stance be precisely explained, because it is obvious that the delegates are calling for the clarification of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] constitutional position and powers of the Presidency as the commander of the armed forces of Yugoslavia. [Croatian Representative] Petar Sale asked a specific question: Does the SFRY Presidency have the right to transfer its powers to the JNA?

Chamber President Miran Mejak and delegate Budimir Kosutic warned that such problems do not fall within the competence of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces.

This discussion was caused by the recent decision of the state presidency to deploy JNA units in Belgrade on 9 March.

Jovic Accused of Drawing Army Into Conflict

LD1303190191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1752 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Ljubljana, March 13 (TANJUG)—Socialists in the Yugoslav Republics of Slovenia and Croatia today accused State Presidency President Borisav Jovic of "hastening to provoke a conflict of broader dimensions by May 15, into which he is also attempting to draw the Yugoslav Army."

Jovic, Serbia's representative in the collective state leadership, is to be replaced as president on May 15 by the current vice president, Stipe Mesic of Croatia.

The spokesmen for the Slovenian and Croatian socialist said in Ljubljana today that "Yugoslavia is at present ruled by the military leadership" and that the state presidency "is one of the chief generators of the crisis in the country."

Communist League Schedules 'Defense' Meeting

LD1303175391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1651 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—The League of Communists- Movement for Yugoslavia today invited citizens throughout our country to attend a meeting for the defense of Yugoslavia due to be held at the confluence of the Danube and the Sava in Belgrade at 1300 on Saturday.

Neofascism and bloody violence are sweeping the country, says the appeal issued by this movement. It goes on to say that "all liberation and humanist achievements won by the Yugoslav peoples together during protracted and difficult fighting against foreign occupiers and domestic traitors are under attack."

Having made the assessment that domestic traitors, regardless of their national, religious, or political membership, who are in the service of foreign interests, have

again come together in Yugoslavia, and that their target is to provoke a civil war and to bring down Yugoslavia, the appeal by the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia calls on all peoples of Yugoslavia to rise against violence and betrayal of the country.

General's 'No Coup' Guarantee Disclosed

LD1403111391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1002 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Statement by Army General Veljko Kadijevic at the SFRY Presidency session in Belgrade on 25 January]

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—"There were rumors and expectations that the Army would carry out a coup, but there has been no coup, there can be no coup, no coup has been planned, and there will be no coup. I can guarantee that for as long as I am in this post, regardless of what people think, what is being planned and by whom, with full responsibility before the SFRY Presidency in its capabity as the supreme commander."

BORBA says that Kadijevic's statement is published today for the first time because, like so many transcripts from previous session of the top body stored in the archives, it is considered to be confidential.

Such a statement by the Army's top man would have had an encouraging effect then and now, BORBA says in an unattributed commentary. Even if not everyone accepted it, at least we would know what the Army minister thinks. In any case, he provides guarantees.

"Such guarantees, such statements and roles are what we need at the moment. We have gone too far in sowing hatred, intolerance, belligerence, and self-destruction. Of course, pronouncements of this kind will not eliminate or eradicate all that, but they will at least create a tiny blue patch in the depressing skies over Yugoslavia. This is a part of our truth and reality," BORBA's commentary says in conclusion.

BORBA Reports Details on Army Role

LD1403145891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1106 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 14 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily BORBA writes on Thursday that differences existed in stands about the Army's political role within the leadership of the Yugoslav Army.

The paper cites that as "unofficially learned" Yugoslav Defense Minister, Gen. Veljko Kadijevic and his deputy, Admiral Stane Brovet, "remained on the line of the commitments of the Yugoslav Government and its Prime Minister Ante Markovic" at the Presidency of Yugoslavia session at which introducing a state of emergency was deliberated.

The paper, thought to be close to the federal government, recalls that the government insisted on "continuing the democratic denouement of the crisis in the country."

BORBA adds that, opposed to Kadijevic and Brovet, the chief of the general staff of the Yugoslav Armed Forces, Gen. Blagoje Adzic "remained convinced that the Army should stick to the firm course," BROBA writes

Gen. Adzic's conviction was "to a certain extent shared" by Presidency of Yugoslavia President Borisav Jovic, who had announced the holding of a session of the Presidency in the capacity of supreme command, writes BORBA.

Invoking unofficial sources, the paper stresses that the session ended "by a 4 to 3 vote against placing the Yugoslav Army units on a high degree of preparedness."

Citing that the Presidency session lasted nearly six hours and had a dramatic course BORBA, invoking again its unofficial sources, writes that Federal Prime Minster Markovic wished to attend the session, but that he was "told there was no need."

BORBA writes that Gen. Kadijevic has at the Presidency session on January 25, reacting to the rumours on the planning of a military coup, stated that "there was no coup, nor can there be one, nor was one planned, nor can it be planned, nor will it be executed...."

Emphasizing it was for the first time citing this Kadijevic's statement, "removed to the archives," the paper adds that the defense minister also said the following:

"I can guarantee, as long as I am holding this post, regardless of what someone might plan and where...that there can be nothing as a whole." "Certain specific things" may, added the defense minister, Gen. Kadijevic, "happen for which I assume no responsibility."

Interior Ministry Denies 'Special War'

LD1403152991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1430 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 14 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Interior Ministry spokesman Srdjan Kerim said in Belgrade today that the existence of a special war against Yugoslavia is out of the question.

Speaking at a regular press conference, Kerim commented claims about the "interference of foreign factors" in developments in Yugoslavia.

Speaking about the events in Belgrade over the past few days, Kerim said that the tragic deaths of two people and the presence of tanks in the streets of the capital "had a negative influence on" the image of Yugoslavia in the world.

The democratic denouement, Kerim added, was given a positive reaction in the world.

Slovene Daily Reviews Serbian Developments

LD1303144891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1200 GMT 13 MAr 91

[Text] Ljubljana, March 13 (TANJUG)—The daily DELO of Ljubljana, republic of Slovenia, says today that Yugoslavia is already living "on borrowed time," and that "the Serbian regime and the Yugoslav People's Army are in the greatest fix" and face the dilemma of whether to impose "a state of emergency, or, in other words, (to stage) a military coup."

The Ljubljana daily writes that the developments in Serbia "reached a critical point with the demonstrations," and that the reactions of the people are unpredictable.

Delo says that Serbian President "Slobodan Milosevic is threatened," and sets out that that is a strong enough reason for the Belgrade political circle to consider the possibility of a military coup, especially since the coup would help "generally settle" the situation in the other republics, too, "especially those which have decided to become autonomous."

The Ljubljana daily sets out that the answer in such an eventuality could be only one—"Slovenia's immediate and complete secession from the federal state, since any delay would not only endanger the possibility of autonomous action but would actually mean the acknowledgement of the 'emergency measures'."

Croatia Appoints Defense Ministry Troika

LD1203233191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1521 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Summary] Zagreb, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—The Croatian government today passed a decree on debt repayment and considered various draft laws.

"At the end of today's session, the government appointed three new assistants to the republican minister of defense. Along with minister Martin Spegelj and his recently appointed deputy, Gojko Susak, the assistant ministers Ivan Karakas, Stefan Kercmar, and Tomislav Biondic will concern themselves with the defense of Croatia."

Tudjman Receives Serbian Democratic Party Group

LD1403051391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1411 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Zagreb, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—Croatian President Franjo Tudjman held talks today in Zagreb with a delegation of the regional board of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] for Slavonija and Baranja about topical issues concerning the position of Serbs in Croatia. The delegation included Ilija Sasic, Vojislav Vikcevic, Veljko Dzakula, Goran Hadzic, and Dusan Hecimovic, all members of the SDS regional board.

Following the meeting, the members of the SDS delegation and Slavko Degoricija, president of the Croat Assembly's Chamber of Municipalities—upon whose initiative the meeting had taken place—held a news conference. The SDS delegation described its talks with President Tudjman as open and sincere, stressing that they covered all issues concerning the legal, political, territorial, cultural, and economic position of Serbs in Croatia.

According to Ilija Sasic, both sides agreed on the need to resolve all issues and mounting problems in a peaceful and democratic way, and to continue the dialogue. The situation in Croatia at the moment is not a good one, Sasic said, and if nothing is done it can deteriorate even further and become uncontrollable.

Asked if they represent the entire SDS of Croatia, the delegation members insisted that the interests of the Serbian people were indivisible. The SDS view is that the Serbian people should live in one state, and that it is in its interest to see Yugoslavia surviving as a united state, Ilija Sasic said.

Asked to comment on the events in Serbia, the regional SDS representatives stressed that did not wish to assume the role of arbiters, but that they expected relations within Serbia to be resolved in a sensible, dignified, and peaceful way.

According to Slavko Degoricija, an agreement was reached to set up a joint working body to analyze all aspects of the position of serbs in Croatia and to suggest solutions. He also came up in favor of a club to be set up of SDS delegates in the Croatian Assembly.

Explosion in Knin Damages Newsstand

LD1303232191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1710 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Summary] Knin, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—Another explosion shook Knin at 0900 this morning. A newstand of SLOBODNA DALMACIJA was ripped out of its foundations. Another newsstand next door was badly damaged and windows were smashed in a privately owned restaurant in the same explosion.

Two More Explosions Reported

LD1403142291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1102 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Summary] Knin, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—AT 2225 last night two strong explosions shook the northern part of Knin. According to Knin public security officials, one of the two explosive devices, planted in the courtyards of two private houses along the main Knin-Bosansko Grahovo road, slightly damaged a garage door.

Serbian Assembly Endorses Draft Information Law

LD1303223991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2128 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—The committee for culture and information of the Serbian Assembly this evening endorsed a draft law on public information.

Fourteen journalists of the Belgrade Radio and TV domestic news desk sent a letter to the assembly committee today, in which they demanded that a permanent cadre solution be found—in a summary procedure—at the assembly session on 20 March, because one man acting as a holder of the three most responsible posts in the television is not a guarantee that cadre changes in the editorial policy will take place.

The most eminent professional people who enjoy the support of the democratic public and journalists in the editorial board should take over the posts of general director, director and chief and executive editor of Belgrade Radio and TV, the journalists of Belgrade TV stress.

Bosnia Rejects Zelenovic's Stolac Allegations

LD1303173491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1635 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—The Presidency of Bosnia- Hercegovina strongly reacted today to the statement of Serbian Prime Minister Dragutin Zelenovic about an alleged planned attack on Stolac.

In this connection the information service of the presidency issued a statement which stresses that in his speech on 12 March this year, Zelenovic told the deputies of the Serbian Assembly how, allegedly, "an attack was planned the previous day by Interior Ministry units on Glina, Knin, Stolac and some other places..." interpreting this as "the Serbian leadership facing the most serious threats to the survival of the Serbian people," etc.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency assesses such a statement as inappropriate. It is without any foundation as far as attacks of any units are concerned. Given that Stolac is not on Serbian territory but in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and given that there were no movements and no attacks by any forces on this town either the day before yesterday or on any other day or in any form, the presidency considers this statement by Dragutin Zelenovic as not only unfounded and fabricated but also as an attack on the integrity of Bosnia- Hercegovina as a sovereign and free republic, the statement reads.

Markovic: Enterprises Break Currency Regulations

LD1303110791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0944 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 13 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav enterprises are violating regulations and currently keeping a total of one billion dollars in foreign banks, as Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic has set out in a meeting with representatives of the biggest Yugoslav banks.

The federal government and the National Bank of Yugoslavia will re-examine the decisions of the republican national banks to extend the deadline by which Yugoslav enterprises must transfer foreign earnings to the country after completing export deals. The law on foreign currency transactions sets a 90-day deadline.

During the meeting between Prime Minister Markovic and bank representatives, the current situation in the banking system and problems created by the failure of the foreign currency market to function were discussed. Bankers were warned that they must both buy and sell on the foreign currency market.

It was decided to form a group of bank representatives, including representatives of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, to propose solutions for the re-activating of the foreign currency market.

Embassy Resumes Normal Duties in Baghdad

LD1403134591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1303 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] Baghdad, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Embassy in Baghdad, which closed on 28 January because of the war in the Gulf, was reopened today after 45 days. The entire embassy staff and the military mission in Iraq, headed by Charge d'Affairs Vlado Kohut, resumed their normal duties today.

Salih Konjhodzio, TANJUG correspondent in Iraq, also arrived in Baghdad with the embassy staff, who travelled to Iraq in a convoy of nine cars via Turkey, Syria, and Jordan.